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THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE, MYLAPORE
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CONTENTS

PAGES

Science and Reality—P. Nagaraja Rao .. 1—9
Vajralepa and Wood-preservation—Dr. K. Goda Varma ... 10—16
The Virūpākṣa Vasantotsava Campū of Ahobala (A Vijayanagara-kāvya)—Dr. V. Raghavan ... 17—40
Phonetic Changes in Tamil words borrowed from Classical Sanskrit—M. R. Rajagopala Iyengar ... 41—69
The Concept of Keynote in the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya—C. R. Sankaran ... 70—73
83-89, 237-241, 295—309
The Kāmasamūha of Ananta, a Nāgara Brhamin, composed in A. D. 1457—P. K. Gode ... 74—81
Reviews ... 81—257
Preserve the Ancient Monuments—S. R. Balasubrahmanyan 90—96
Jōḷavāḷi, Vāḷavāḷi and Leṅkavāḷi—Dr. N. Venkataramanayya ... 97—111
Tamil Syntax—A. Chidambaranatha Chettiar ...112—116
Bhavabhūtiḥ Karuṇarasaśca—V. H. Subrahmanya Sastri ...117—132
Vedic Studies: 1. The Act of Truth in the Ṛgveda—Dr. A. Venkatasubbiah ...133—165
210—236, 274—285
,, 2. The root Śvas, Śuṣ—Dr. A. Venkatasubbiah...286—294
The Message of the Gītā (Philosophy of Action)—P. Nagaraja Rao ...166—173
Jñānād eva tu Kaivalyam—S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri ...175—179
Kalpavṛkṣa-Kalpavallī—C. Sivaramamurti ...180—182
Īhāmṛgas—C. Sivaramamurti ... —183
Date of Padyaracanā of Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa Aṅkolkar—Between A D. 1625 and 1650—P. K. Gode ...184—193
The Poetry of Śrī Mūka Kavi—Srimati Savitri Ammal ...194..203
Patañjali, a lakṣyaikacakṣus: His Lofty Realism—K. Madhava Krishna Sarma ...204—209
Śri-Mūkakavi-Bhaktisuṣamā—R. S. Venkatarama Sastri ...242—254
Letter to the Editor ...255—256
Technical Terms in the Aṣṭādhyāyī—K. Madhava Krishna Sarma ...259—267

	Pages
The Concept of Pramāda in Sanatsujātīyam—T. S. S.	...268—273
Tirukkalukkunram—S. R. Balasubrahmanyan	...310—317
The works of Abhinavagupta—Dr. V. Raghavan	...318—328
Tolkāppiyam-iv: Viḷi-marapu, edited with Notes—Dr. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri	...329—338

AUTHORS' INDEX

PAGES

Balasubrahmanyan, S. R.
Preserve the Ancient Monuments ... 90— 96
Tirukkalukkunram ...310—317

Chettiar, A. Chidambaranatha
Tamil Syntax ...112—116

Gode, P. K.
The Kāmasamūha of Ananta, a Nāgara Brahmin, composed in A. D. 1457 ... 74— 81
Date of Padyaracanā of Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa Aṅkolkar Between A. D. 1625 and 1650 ...184—193

Iyengar, M. R. Rajagopala
Phonetic Changes in Tamil Words borrowed from Classical Sanskrit ... 41— 69

Nair, P. Krishnan
Letter to the Editor ...255—256

Raghavan, V.
The Virūpākṣa Vasantotsava Campū of Ahobala (A Vijayanagara-kāvya) ... 17— 40
The Works of Abhinavagupta ...318—328

Rao, P. Nagaraja
Science and Reality ... 1——9
The Message of the Gītā (Philosophy of Action) ...166—173

Sankaran, C. R.
The Concept of Keynote in the Taittirīya Prātiśākhya 70-73, 83-89, 237-241, 295—309

Sarma, K. Madhava Krishna
Patañjali, a lakṣyaikacakṣus: His Lofty Realism ...204—209
Technical Terms in the Aṣṭādhyāyī ...259—267

Sastri, Subrahmanya, P. S.
Tolkāppiyam—iv. Viḷimarapu edited with Roman transliteration and critical Notes ...329—338

Sastri, Subrahmanya, V. H.
Bhavabhūtiḥ Karuṇarasaśca ...117—132

PAGES

Sastri, Suryanarayana, S. S.
Jñānād eva tu Kaivalyam ...175—179
Sastri, Venkatarama, R. S.
Śrī-Mūkakavi-Bhaktisuṣamā ...242—254
Savitri Ammal
The Poetry of Śrī Mūka Kavi ...194—203
Sivaramamurti, C.
Kalpavṛkṣa-Kalpavallī ...180—182
Īhāmṛgas 183
T. S. S.
The Concept of Pramāda in Sanatsujātīyam ...268—273
Varma, K. Goda
Vajralepa and Wood-preservation ... 10— 16
Venkataramanayya, N.
Joḷavāḷi, Vēḷavāḷi and Leṅkavāḷi ... 97—111
Venkatasubbiah, A.
Vedic Studies : 1. The Act of Truth in the ṚgVeda ...133—165
210—236, 274—285
Vedic Studies : 2. The root Śvas, Śuṣ ...286—294

INDEX

A

Abhinavabhārati, 319.
Abhinavagupta, the works of, 318-28.
Abhinihita (—nihata) variety of svarita, 85.
Ābhogi-rāga, 299.
Absolution, 8-9.
Acala (poet), 189.
Act of Truth, 133-65, 210-36, 274-85.
  in the Divyāvadāna, 136.
  in the Mahābhārata, 135-36.
  in the Rāmāyaṇa, 135.
  in the Ṛg Veda, 137-65, 210-36, 274-85.
  in the Tantrākhyāyikā, 136.
Action, philosophy of, 166-73.
Adbhutarasa, as originated from karuṇa, 123.
Ahimmadanagara (Ahmadabad or Himmatnagar) 76, 77, 80.
Ahobala, the Virpūpākṣa Vasantotsava Campū of, 17-40.
Aiyar, N. P. Swaminatha, 257.
Aiyar: See also Iyer.
Akbarīya Kālidāsa, 188, 191.
Amaravati sculptures, 93.
Amaruka, 189.
Ambaṣṭha, 188.
Ānandapūrṇa, guru of Ananta, 77, 78, 80.
Ānandavardhana, 190.
Ananta, Kāmasamūha of, 74-81.
Anegoṇḍi (Kiṣkindha), 23.
Anubhavanivedana, 318.
Anudātta accent, 70, 71, 72, 73, 302ff.
Aṇugus, 109.
Anuttara - Śrīgurupankti-parāmarśa, 327.
Anuttarāṣṭikā, 318.
Anuttara-triṁśikā - laghuvṛtti or *Anuttara-tattva-vimarśinīlaghuvṛtti*, 318.
Anuttara-triṁśikā-vivṛti or *Pārā triṁśikā-vṛtti*, 318.
Anuttara-triṁśikā-vyākhyā, (metrical), 328.
Archaeological department, on preservation of monuments, 95, 96.
Asari, K. Nilakanthan, 15.
Aṣṭādhyāyī, technical terms in the, 250-67.
Aṣṭapadī in Kerala, 255-56.
Aśvattha of Śrīgiri Bhaṭṭa, 22.
Āṭṭakkathā or Kathakali, a critical study—counter review, 255-56.
Aurbindo, Sri, 179.
Avantivarman, 189.
Āvaraṇa, 270.
Avidyā and vidyā, 175-76.
Avilamba, 189.
Avyayadvādaśikā, 319.

B

Bābumiśra, 189.
Balasubrahmanyan, S.R., 90, 310.
Bāṇa, 189.
Banteay Srei temple, renovation of, 92.
Beauty, 5, 6, 7, 8.
Bellari (Balāri), 19.
Bhagavad-Gītā: See Gītā.
Bhagavad-gītārtha-saṅgraha of Abhinavagupta, 320.
Bhairavastotra, 320.
Bhaktavatsala temple, 312, 313, 314.
Bhānukara, 187.
Bhānumiśra, 187.
Bhartṛhari, 189.
Bhāsa, 189.
Bhaṭṭa Nāga, 327.
Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita, 206-07.
Bhavabhūti, 190.
Bhavabhūtiḥ karuṇarasaśca, 117-32.
Bhayānakarasa, as originated from karuṇa, 123.

Bhedavādavidāraṇa, 320.
Bhiṣag Devarāja, 328.
Bhojadeva, 190.
Bhojaprabandha, 189.
Bhujaṅganagara, 20.
Bībhatsarasa, as originated from karuṇa, 123.
Bilhaṇa, 188.
Bilva tree, 26, 33-34.
Book reviews, 81, 257.
Brahman, 8-9.
Brāhmaṇas, worship of, 32.

C

Caṇaka, 28.
Candraśaila (Candragiri or Candragutti), 18.
Chettiar, A. Chidambaranatha, 112.
Chitaldrug (Citraśilā), 19-20.
Civilisation and science, 1-3.

D

Dambala chief, 25.
Dambalapura (Dambal), 20.
Dampati-pūjā, 29.
Daṇḍin, 189.
Dārusaṁskāra, 11, 15.
Daśaślokī of Śrīvidyācakravartin, 327.
Death, 271, 272, 273.
Dehasthadevatācakrastotra, 319.
Deity, 8.
Devarāja, bhiṣag, 328.
Deveśvara, 188.
Devībhujaṅga (of Abhinavagupta), 321.
Devīstotra-vivaraṇa (of Abhinavagupta), 319.
Dharaṇīdhara, 188.
Dhṛta accent, 87-88, 89, 304.
Dhruva-vīṇā, 296.
Dhūrta, 189.
Dhvani-saṅketa, 321.
Dhvanyāloka-locana, 319.
Dīkṣita (śaiva), 26, 27.
Dravidian languages, Sanskritic element in the vocabularies of, 41.
Dravidic studies, 40, 57, 58, 61.

E

Ecclesiastical musical modes, 305.

G

Gadādhara, 188.
Gadādharapura agrahāra, 25.
Gaṇapati (poet), 188.
Gaṇeśvara, 190.
Gaṅgaikoṇḍacolapuram temple, 93.
Gauḍa, 188.
Gāyatrīgāna, 238.
Ghaṭakarpara-kulaka-vṛtti, 319.
Gītā Day celebration, Madras, 166.
Gītā, the message of the, 166-73.
Glarean musical scales, 305.
Gode, P. K., 74, 184.
Goodness, 5, 6, 7, 8.
Guḍodaka-pānaka, 28.
Guṇākara, 189.
Guñjā-Mādhava, 22, 29.
Gurunāthaparāmarśa, 323.
Gurupaṅktistotra, 327.

H

Hanumad river, 23.
Hanumān (poet), 188.
'Hara Hara Mahādeva', 28, 31.
Haradattācārya, 26, 27, 33.
Harihara (poet), 189.
Harihara I (king), 17, 18, 21.
(Hari)-harapurādhipa, 20.
Harṣadatta, 188.
Hāsyarasa, as originated from karuṇa, 122-23.
Hedonism, 7-8.
Hemakūṭa, 23.
Human values, 4-5.
Hunt-festival of Śiva, 33-34.

I

Idar state, 76, 77.
Īhāmṛgas (animals of fancy), 183.
Indrakavi, 190.
Indo-European languages, accent in, 83-85.
Īśvarapratyabhijñā-(laghu)-vimarśinī, 318.
Īśvarapratyabhiñjā-vivṛti-(bṛhatī)-vimarśinī, 318.
Īśvarastotra of Abhinavagupta, 320.

Iyengar, M. R. Rajagopala, 41.
Iyer, Srinivasa, K. R., 257.
Iyer, Sundaram, T. S., 257.
Iyer, Venkatarama, K. R. 257.
Iyer: See also Aiyar.

J

Jaghanacapalā, 189.
Jayadeva, 26, 188.
Jñāna, 168.
Jñānād eva tu kaivalyam, 175-79.
Jñānakarmasamuccaya, 179.
Jōḷavāḷi, 96, 98-100.

K

Kaivalyam, jñānād eva tu, 175-79.
Kālidāsa, 188.
Kalpavṛkṣa-Kalpavallī, 180-82.
Kamalāpura, 21, 33.
Kāmasamūha of Ananta, 74-81.
Kāmeśvara (Śiva), 34.
Kāphi-rāga (Kharaharapriyā), 308-09.
Kapotagiri (Kappaguḍḍe hills), 20.
Karma, 168, 169, *272*, *273*.
Karmayoga, 168, 169, 170, 171.
Karuṇa, as the primary rasa, 121-32.
Karuṇarasa and Bhavabhūti, 117-32.
Kāśmīrabhūpāla, 18, 21.
Kathāmukhatilaka, 313, 323.
Kātyāyana on Pāṇini, 204ff.
Kavi, M. Ramakrishna, 16.
Kavikaṅkaṇa, 190.
Kavīndra, 189.
Kavirāja, 190.
Kāvyakautuka-vivaraṇa, 318.
Keynote, the concept of, 70-73, 83-89, *237-41*, 295-305.
Kharaharapriyā, 298, 299-300, 308.
Kiṣkandha (Anegoṇḍi), 23, 36.
Kramakelī, 319.
Kramastotra, 319.
Kṛṣṇamiśra, 190.
Kṣaipra variety of svarita, 84.
Kṣemendra, 188.

L

Laghuprakriyā, 320.
Lakṣaṇaikacakṣuṣka, *204*, *206-07*.
Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa's *Padyaracanā*, 184-93.
Lakṣmaṇaṭhakkura, 189.
Lakṣmaṇesvara, 20.
Lakṣmīdhara, 189.
Lakṣmī-vṛkṣa (Bilva tree) 33.
Lakṣyaikacakṣus, *204*.
Leṅkavāḷi, 96, 108-11.
Leṅkas, 109-11.
Lepas, 10.
Līlāvatīkāra, 190.

M

Madhyamagrāma-vīṇā, *296*.
Māgha, 187.
Mahādeva (poet), 190.
Mahānagara, 21.
Mahānāṭaka, 187.
Mahīsurapura (Mysore?), 18.
Mind, scientific temper of, 2.
Maithila, 189.
Mālinīvijaya, 319.
Mālinīvijaya-vārttika, 320.
Maṇḍana (minister), *74*, *75*, *76*.
Marchel, M., 92.
Mataṅga hills, 23.
Meykkīrtti, 91.
Mokṣa, 8.
Mokṣaguṇḍam (Mokṣapura), 19.
Monuments, preservation of, 90-96.
Morikā, 189.
Mṛgayotsava festival, *27*, 33-34.
Mṛtyu-saṁsāra, *272*, *273*.
Mūka Day celebrations, 194, 242.
Mūka Kavi, poetry of, 194-203.
 tradition about, 196.
Mūka-kavi-bhakti-suṣamā, 242-54.
Murāri, 190.
Mysore (Mahīsurapura?) 18.

N

Nāga, bhaṭṭa, *327*.
Nāgānanda (poet), *327*.
Nāgara brahmins, *77*.
Nāgeśa, 207.
Nair, P. Krishnan, 255.

'Namaḥ Pārvatīpataye', 28, 31.
Nānā, 21, 35.
Nānādeśis (merchant guild), 315.
Nandipuri, 310.
Nannūl, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 51, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63.
Nārada-śikṣā on svaras 238, 240, 241, 295.
Nārāyaṇa, father of Maṇḍana, 75, 76.
Nārāyaṇa (poet), 190.
Nārāyaṇapuram, 311.
Nāṭyalocana (*Nāṭyālocana*), 321.
Nāṭyaśāstra-vivṛti, 319.
Nidrādaridra, 189.
Niṣāda, 297, 299.
Nivṛttimārga, 171.

P

Padārthapraveśanirṇaya-ṭīkā, 319.
Padyaracanā of Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa:
  authorities quoted, 187-90.
  contents, 185-86.
  date, 184, 191, 193.
  identification with namesakes, 191-92.
  Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa's own contribution, 186-87.
  printed edition, 184.
Padyāmṛtataraṅgiṇī, 192, 193.
Pakṣipaṇḍāram, 311.
Pampāmbikā, 23, 24, 29.
Pampānagara, 21, 24.
Pampārya, 31.
Pāmuḍipaṭṭana, 17, 33.
Pāṇini, 190.
Pāṇini's grammar, on, 204ff.
Pāṇini's technical terms:
  enumerated, 259-60.
  meanings discussed, 260-64, 266-67.
  Mahāsamjñās, 264-66.
Pāṇinisūtra, svaritāt, etc. 70-71.
Pāṇiniyaśikṣā, on dhṛta, 88.
Parimala, 190.
Paramārthāsāra, 319.
Paramārthadvādaśikā, 319.
Paramārthasāra-(*saṅgraha*), 319.
Parātrimśikā-vṛtti, 318.
Pārvati-in-anger festival, 35.
Paryantapañcāśikā, 324.
Pātāla-Virūpākṣa shrine, 22, 29.
Patañjali, a lākṣyaikacakṣus: his lofty realism, 204-09.
Patañjali on Pāṇini, 204ff,
Patināru-cāṇ-kol, 316,
Philosophy of Action—the message of the Gītā, 166-73.
Philosophy of values, 5-9.
Phonetic changes in Tamil words borrowed from Sanskrit, 41-69.
Pillai, S. Anavaratavinayakam, 41.
Pleasure, philosophy of, 7-8.
Prabodha (*or Bodha*) *pañcadāśikā*, 320.
Pracaya, 70, 72-73, 86-89, 302ff.
Prakaraṇavivaraṇa, 320.
Prakīrṇavivaraṇa, 320.
Pramāda in Sanatsujātīyam, 268-73.
Praśastis and their value, 91-92.
Pravṛttimārga, 170ff.
Pudukkotta State Manual, 257.
Pudukkotta temples, 93.
Puruṣasūkta (is on Śiva), 26, 33.
Pūrvapañcikā, 319.
Pūrvaśāstra, 319.

R

Raghavan, V., 17, 318.
Raghupati, 190.
Rahasyapañcadaśikā, 324.
Raju, K. Venkatarengam, 257.
Rāmacandra, 187.
Ramaṇa, Bhagavān, 179.
Rāmanāṭṭam, 255.
Raṅganātha, 190.
Rao, P. Nagaraja, 1, 166.
Rathotsava festival, 28-33.
Ratnākara, 188.
Ratnamālā, 191.
Raudrarasa, as originated from karuṇa, 122.
Rāyadurga, 19.
Rāya-vācaka, 22, 30.
Realisation of the Truth, 178.
Renovation of temples, 92-93, 95-96.
Reviews, 81, 257.

ṚgVeda, acts of truth in, 137-65, 210-36, 274-85.
ṚgVeda hymns, discussion on:
ā vibādhyā (2, 23, 3) *221.*
Adhā ha yad (4, 2, 14-16) 160-64.
ajo na kṣām, (1, 67, 5) *280-81.*
anūnod atra, (5, 45, 7) *212-13.*
āpo bhūyiṣṭhā, (1, 161, 9) 137-42.
asmākam atra (4, 1, 13-17) 156-60.
aśnāpinaddhaṃ, (10, 68, 8-9) *226-27.*
ayaṃ śṛṇve adha (4, 17, 10) *275.*
ayam uśanāh, (6, 39, 2-4) 164-65, 210.
brahmaṇaspater, (2, 24, 14) 219.
bṛhaspatiḥ prathamaṃ, (4, 50, 4-5) *228.*
bṛhaspatiḥ sam, (6, 73, 3) *227.*
dūram ita paṇayo, (10, 108, 11) 219-20.
ekaṃ vi cakra, (4, 36, 4) 144-45.
evā satyaṃ, (4, 28, 5) 236, 274.
idā hi ta uṣo, (6, 65, 5) 232-33.
jyeṣṭha āha camasā, (4, 35, 5-6) 142-44.
kiṃmayaḥ svic, (4, 35, 4) 148.
nakir eṣām, (3, 39, 4-5) 235-36.
niś carmaṇo gām, (1, 161, 7) 145-46.
pipartu mā tad, (10, 35, 7) *279-80.*
pra ṇu tyam, (5, 1, 7) 281-84.
pra ta indra, (10, 112, 8-9) 234.
pra vo mahe, (1, 62, 2-7) 228-32.
ra saptagum, (10, 47, 6) 220.
ratham ye cakruḥ, (4, 36, 2) 148-50.
ṛtam śaṁsanta, (10, 67, 2-3) 218-19.
ṛtajyenakṣiptreṇa, (2, 24, 8) *222.*
ṛtenādrim, (4, 3, 11-12) 154-55.
sā mā satyoktiḥ, (10, 37, 2) *279.*
sa mātarā, (32, 3-4) *233.*
śacyākarta, (4, 35, 5) 150-51.
sanadvājam vipra, (10, 47, 4) 234-35.
satyā satyebhir, (7, 75, 7) *275-77.*
so aṅgirobhir, (1, 100, 4) *274-75.*
svādhyo diva, (1, 72, 8) *210-12.*
śvasity apsu, (1, 65, 9) *291-94.*
tā ghā tā bhadrā, (4, 51, 7) *278.*
ta id devānāṃ, (7, 76, 4) 154.
tā tū te satyā, (4, 22, 6) *236.*
tava tya indra, (10, 138, 1-2) 151-53.
uccann uṣasaḥ, (7, 90, 4) *278-79.*
upa śvasaya, (6, 47, 29) *294.*
vibidyā puraṃ, (10, 67, 5-8) 223-25.
vīḷau satīr abhi, (3, 31, 5-7) 213-16.
vīḷu cid dṛṭhā, (1, 71, 2-3) 216-18.
viśvāni śakro, (4, 16, 6) *232.*
viśve asya, (5, 45, 8) *212.*
vy uṣā āvo, (7, 75, 1) *277-78.*
ya indrīya, (1, 20, 2-5) 146-47.
ya udājan pitaro, (10, 62, 2-3) 153-54.
yābhiś śacībhi, (3, 60, 2) 150.
yadā valasya, (10, 68, 6) *225-26.*
yas tastambha, (4, 50, 1) *227-28.*

ye harī medha-(4, 33, 10) 147-48.
yo nantvāny-, (2, 24, 2-3) 222-23.
Ṛśyamūka hills, 23.
Rudradāsa, 189.

S

Sadgurūpādhyāya, 25.
Śākavṛddha (poet), 188.
Sāman music, key-note in, 72ff., 83ff., 237ff., 295ff.
svaras, 237-38, 241, 301ff.
Samjñās of Pāṇini:
enumerated, 259-60.
meaning discussed, 260-64, 266-67.
Mahāsamjñās, 264-66.
Saṁnyāsa, 168.
Saṁsāra, 272, 273.
Sanatkumāra's doctrine of pramāda, 269-73.
Sanatsujātīyam, the concept of pramāda in, 268-73.
Śaṅkarācārya, 189.
Sankaran, C.R.,70, 83, 237, 295.
Ṣāṇmāsika, 189.
Sannatara accent, 72, 73.
Sanskrit, phonetic changes in Tamil words borrowed from, 41-69.
Sanskritic element in the vocabularies of the Dravidian languages, 41,
Saptasvaras, 237-41, 295, 301.
Śaraṇāgati doctrine, 172.
Sarma, K. Madhava Krishna, 204, 259.
Śārṅgadhara, 188.
Sarvadāsa, 189.
Sarvasammataśikṣā, 303.
Śāstraparāmarśa, 325.
Sastri, Subrahmanya, V. H., 117.
Sastri, Subrahmanya, P.S , 329.
Sastri, Suryanarayaṇa, S.S., 175.
Sastri, Venkatarama, R.S., 242.
Ṣaṭ-triṁśat-tattvācāra, 327.
Savitri Ammal, K., 194.
Śāntarasa, 118.
as originated from karuṇa, 123-24.
Science and civilisation, 1-3.
Science and reality, 1-9.
Science, contributions of, 1-3.
Science, defects of interpretation of reality, 5-6, 9.
Science, limitations of, 1-6, 9.
Śelvi-Rājakesari (Tamil liquid measure), 316.
Śivadṛṣṭyālocana, 320.
Śivanāṭaka, 25, 26, 34.
Sivaramamurti, C., 180, 183.
Śivaśaktyavinābhāva-stotra, 320.
Śivāṣṭapadī, 26, 34.
Śivasūtra-vārttika of Bhiṣag Devarāja, 328.
Ślokavārttika (a new work), 321.
Solipsism, 7.
Somadeva, 190.
Somayārya, 87.
South India:
inscriptions of, 91.
temple inscriptions, 93, 94, 95.
Spells by an act of Truth, 133ff.
Śraddhā, 167.
Śrīgiri (Śiṅgiri) Bhaṭṭa, 22.
Śrīharṣa, 188.
Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita, 25.
Śrīrāga (Kharaharapriyā), 298, 299.
Śrīrāśi (Śirasī, N. Canara), 19.
Śrīrāśideśa-adhipati, 18-19.
Śrīvṛkṣa or Lakṣmīvṛkṣa (Bilva tree), 33.
Śṛṅgārarasa, 118.
not the primary rasa, 121-24.
Śruti-Svara tables, 295-98.
Subandhu, 190.
Śuddha (musical) scale, 308-09.
Śuddha-vikṛta system (music), 308.
Suraguru (legendary Cola king), 310-11.
Śuṣ, śvas, the meaning of the root, 286-94.
Svara-Śruti tables, 295-98.
Svarita accent, 70, 71, 72, 73, 83ff.

T

Taittirīya Āraṇyaka: a study of the first Prapāṭhaka, 19-22.
accent in, 20-22.
analysis, 20.
contents, 19-20.
Tālguṇḍa inscription, 306.
Tamil words borrowed from Sanskrit, phonetic changes in vowels, 176-93.
a, 177-81.
ā, 181-83.
ai, 191-92.
au, 193.
ē, 190-91.
i, 183-85.
ī, 185-86.
ō, 192-93.
ṛ, 189-90.
u, 186-88.
ū, 188.
Tamilian warfare, ancient, 197-232.
Temple vandalism, 14-15.
Temples, Jain, 2-9.
Tēṉimalai Jain palli, 2, 10.
Thatte family, history of, 131ff.
Thatte family records, 131.
Thatte-kula-vṛttānta, 131.
Tīrthaṅkara icons, 10 12.
Tirukkural, 192, 202.
Tolkāppiyam, 176, 198, 202.
Tolkāppiyanār, 176.
Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam, 46.
Toraṇa (in Indian architecture), 88, 89.
Tribhuvana cakravartin (Kulottuṅga, III), 30.
Tribhuvanavīra (deva) (Kulottuṅgā III), 30, 33.
Trika philosophy, 167.
Tryambaka (author), 133.

U

Udayasundarīkathā of Soḍḍhala.
jottings on painting from, 338-44.
Uddaṇḍakavi, 23.
Uddhavadūta of Rājavallabha Miśra, 23.
Umāmāheśvarasaṁvāda, 302-03.
Upadhye, A. N., 84.
Upaniṣad (=Āgamas), 167-69.
Ūr, 46, 47, 48.
Ūrār (ūrōm), 46, 47, 48.
Uttaramerūr inscription on local government, 47.
Uttuṅgodaya, 25.

V

Vāgīśvara, author of *Mānamanohara*.
date, 241-44.
Vaidehaka, 135.
Vaḷanāḍu, 46, 47.
Vallabhadeva, 303-04.
Vāṇmaṇḍanaguṇadūta, 25-26.
Vātsyāyana, a note on the date, 140-42.
and Kālidāsa, 141-42.
and the Kalpa and Gṛhyasūtras, 140.
Vedāntaparibhāṣāsaṅgraha, reviewed, 166.
Vedapādastava, 303.
Vedikā (in Indian architecture), 92.
Venkataraman, K. R., 1
Venkataramanayya, M., 307.
Venkataramanayya, N., 233.
Vetavrata, 135.
Vicitragupta, 135.
Vidagdhajanavallabhā, 303.
Vīḍu (camp), 236-39.
Vidyānivāsa, 24, 25.
Village committees, 47, 48.
Vināyaka (father of Nīlakaṇṭha), 135.
Vīrakkal (hero-stone), 228-29.
Vīra-Pāṇḍya, 30, 31, 32, 34.
Vīrasvarga, 214-15.
Vīreśvara, 25.
Viśvādhika, 305.
Viśvanātha Siddhāntapañcānana Bhaṭṭācārya, 24, 25.
Viśveśvara (Gāgābhaṭṭa), 132.
Vyāsaśataka, 303-04.

W

War, general observations, 197-98.

Warfare, ancient Tamilian, 197-232.
army corps, 205-07.
arrangement of the army, 229-30.
causes of, 198-202.
civil wars, 216-17.
confederation, 227-28.
divisions of, 202-03.
fairness in the conduct of war, 208-09.
fortifications, 203-05.
general observations, 230-32.
guardian tree, cutting of, 215-16.
messengers and spies, 226-27.
noteworthy events, 218-21.
oaths taken by kings, 210.
preliminaries of battle, 210-11.
scenes of victory 221-26.
tombs or hero-stones (vīrakkal), 228-29.
valour in women, 211-14, 231-32.
vīrasvarga, 214-15.
weapons, 207-08.
women, valour in, 211-14, 231-32.
Weapons in Tamilian warfare, 207-08.
Women, valour in Tamilian warfare, 211-14, 231-32.

Y

Yādavaprakāśa, 302.
Yoga Upaniṣads translated into English, reviewed, 164.
Yogasāra of Yogīndu, reviewed, 84-85.
Yogavāsiṣṭha
and Abhinanda's *Rāmacaritam*, 126-28.
and Ānandavardhana, 121-22.
and Bāṇa, 114-15.
and *Bhāgavata*, 123.
and Bhāravi, 112-13.
and Bhartṛhari, 115-17.
and Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, 115.
and Bhavabhūti, 118.
and Kālidāsa, 111-12.
and Kumārila, 117.
and Maṇḍana, 117-18
and Mātṛgupta, 113.
and *Paramārthasāra*, 123.
and Rājaśekhara, 123-24.
and Śaṅkara, 118-21.
and Sarvajñātman, 125-26.
and the *Gītā*, parallels, 73-81, 161-63.
date of, 110-28.
onomatopoetic words, in, 123.
place of origin, 82.
priority to Śaṅkara, 345-46.
recension of the *Gītā* used by, 81-82, 124-25.
use of the word camatkāra and camatkṛti, 123.

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CONTENTS

VOL. XIII. APRIL—JUNE, 1939. PART II

PAGE

Some Architectural Passages in the Rāmāyaṇa—C. Sivaramamurti, M.A. 87

Theories about Ablaut—Part III—C. R. Sankaran, M.A. .. 93

Some Observations on the Māṇḍūkya Kārikās—S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri 99

The Date of the Yogavāsiṣṭha—Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., PH.D. ... 110

The date of the Kāyastha Parabhū-Dharmādarśa of Nīlakaṇṭha Sūri and Identification of its Author in Contemporary Records—P. K. Gode, M.A. 129

Mahraṭha Hill Fortresses—Dr. T. R. Chintamani, M.A., PH.D. 143

Rāmasya Āntaro Bhāvasammardaḥ—V. H. Subrahmanya Sastri 147

The Yogavāsiṣṭha and the Bhagavadgītā—Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., PH.D. 161

Reviews and Notices of Books 164

SOME ARCHITECTURAL PASSAGES IN THE RĀMĀYAṆA

BY

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The study of Archæology has revealed in India many factors that confirm statements of early authors. Like the labelled scenes from Bhārhut that have illustrated the Jātakas and established their antiquity, the excavations at Pāṭaliputra conducted by the munificence of Ratan Tata have revealed the foundations of Candragupta's Sugāṅga Prāsāda, a gorgeous palace that surpassed even that at Persopolis. The earliest form of Bhāgavata and Śaiva worship, the temples of Vāsudeva, Saṅkarṣaṇa, Dhanapati and Pradyumna Makaradhvaja, all revealed by the efforts of the spade, have confirmed the statements of Bhagavān Patañjali in his Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya. Early authors studied less sceptically are bound to help the progress of archæology. It is sought in this note to explain how early architecture helps us to visualise some of the marvellous descriptions in the Rāmāyaṇa.

The finest description of a great city abounding in rich mansions is in the early chapters of the Sundarakāṇḍa. Vālmīki describes Laṅkā and the Puṣpaka, the palace of Rāvaṇa, in particular. The description soars in its magnificence even like the towers of the mansion itself. The poet is not satisfied with a short description. Whole chapters are devoted to it. In this most beautiful poetical fabric is woven an excellent architectural lesson: and it helps us to appreciate early architecture in India.

Surrounding the impregnable wall of the city is a large moat—*parikhā*. The *parikhā* is described as adorned with lotuses.[1]

---

1. पुण्डरीकावतंसाभिः परिखाभिः समावृतम् ।
Surrounded by moats with white lilies adorning their surface. Rāmāyaṇa V, iv, 15.

परिखाभिः सपद्माभिः सोत्पलाभिरलंकृतम् ।
Adorned by moats with lotuses and lilies. *ibid* V, ii, 14.

It is interesting to see that this detail is faithfully portrayed in early representations of the moat at Sāñchi and elsewhere (*see* fig. 1.)

Beyond the moat is the *prākāra* or the surrounding walls and it effectively protects the city from the gaze of the outer world.[1] There are high walls shown in early sculptures sometimes with zigurat patterns on top as at Sāñchi and sometimes with a plain top line as at Amarāvatī.

The line of the *prākāra* wall is broken at intervals by *gopurāṭṭālakas*. *Aṭṭālakas* are huge towers and every gateway was provided with such towers for watch and defence. These are known as *gopura-aṭṭālakas*.[2] The term *gopurāṭṭālakas* emphasises the lofty towers of the gateway. The term *aṭṭagopura* emphasises the principal gateway of the city adorned by lofty towers. This is the most important structure, and the most imposing, and Hanumān is satisfied that that is well burnt.[3] *Aṭṭa*, *prākāra* and *toraṇa* are very often mentioned together since they go together.[4] There are two kinds of gateways, the separate arched one outside the tower gate, and the tower gate itself. These are represented in early sculptures from Sāñchi, Amarāvatī, and elsewhere and described in the *Arthaśāstra* of

---

1. प्राकारावृतमत्यन्तं ददर्श स महाकपिः ।
The noble monkey saw (that mansion of the lord of *rākṣasas*) completely covered by the rampart wall. *Ibid* V, iv, 25.

2. उत्तुङ्गसौधसुरमन्दिरगोपुराट्टसंघट्टपाटितविमुक्तमिवान्तरिक्षम् ॥
(The town of Padmāvatī bears as it were under the pretext of a river) the sky rent and dropped by her lofty mansions, temples and gate-towers by rubbing against it. Mālatīmādhava, IX, i.

3. पुच्छेन च प्रदीप्तेन तां पुरीं साट्टगोपुराम् ।
[I burnt] that city with her towered gateways by my blazing tail. Rāmāyaṇa,, V lviii, 155.

4. द्रक्ष्यामि नगरीं लङ्कां साट्टप्राकारतोरणाम् ।
I shall see the city of Laṅkā with her towers, ramparts and gateway arches. *Ibid*. V, iii, 33.

सपर्वतवनोद्देशां साट्टप्राकारतोरणाम् ।
(I have the might to carry Laṅkā) with her mountains and forests and with her towers, ramparts and gateway arches. *Ibid*. V, xxxvii, 29.

Kauṭilya. A good plan of *gopura-aṭṭālaka* according to the *Arthaśāstra* and early sculptures is given by Dr. Coomaraswamy in his excellent paper "Early Indian Architecture" in Eastern Art, Vol. II as also a number of photographs of early representation of city gates. Fig. 2 is a representation of a city gateway from an Amarāvatī sculpture showing *aṭṭālakas* and the central *śālā*.

The *toraṇa* or arched gateway is one of the most lovely creations of the Indian architect and its best surviving representations are at Sāñchi. Vālmīki has described the *toraṇas* of *Laṅkā* as glorious specimens of decorative work and the oldest surviving *toraṇa* monuments answer the descriptions. The *toraṇas* of *Laṅkā* are decorated with creeper patterns all of gold.[1] Fig. 3 represents a *toraṇa* from Amarāvatī showing this creeper decoration. Leaves are shown entwining the stambhas or the jambs. Actual creeper designs may be noticed in plenty on the jambs of the *toraṇas* at Sāñchi.

On the *toraṇa* gateway at Sāñchi goddess Lakṣmī is very often represented seated as well as standing. Early representations of Lakṣmī are to be seen in Bhārhut, Bodh-gayā, Amarāvatī, Udayagiri and other places. At Sāñchi, Bodh-gayā and Udayagiri they are representations of Lakṣmī bathed by elephants. Vālmīki, describing the Puṣpaka palace of Rāvaṇa says that Lakṣmī on lotus, lotus in hand, and attended by elephants was carved on it,[2] obviously on the entrance as we see in the sculptures. It is interesting to compare this with one of the many early representations, a seated figure from the Sāñchi gateway (*see* Fig. 4). This exactly answers the description of Vālmīki.

---

1. तोरणैः काञ्चनैर्दीप्तां लतापङ्क्तिविचित्रितैः ।

Adorned (lit. lit) by arched gateways of gold beautified by rows of creepers. *Ibid*. V, ii. 18.

2. नियुज्यमानास्तु गजाः सुहस्ताः सकेसराश्चोत्पलपत्रहस्ताः ।
बभूव देवी च कृता सुहस्ता लक्ष्मीस्तथा पद्मिनि पद्महस्ता ॥

Elephants with beautiful trunks (and covered) with pollen and with lilies in their trunks, and the goddess Lakṣmī with fair arms holding lotuses in her hand and stationed on the lotus were executed (by the sculptor). *Ibid*. V, vii, 14.

Among the decorations of the Puṣpaka palace and supporting it are representations of goblins that roam in the aerial regions.[1] There is a whole row of such figures supporting the structure in cave No. 3. of Nāsik (*See* fig. 5). Vālmīki describes them as adorned with *kuṇḍalas* and as potbellied, details faithfully observed in the Nāsik sculptures as also in most caryatide figures of dwarfs from elsewhere.

Describing the pillars supporting the palace Vālmīki says that they are all golden, well executed, radiant and decorated with *īhāmṛgas.*[2] The ordinary meaning of the word *īhāmṛga*, a kind of antelope, leads us nowhere. The word is used in a special sense and is a compound of two words. It may be *īhānusārī mṛgaḥ* or *īhām anusṛtya kṛto mṛgaḥ*. Either way it is an animal worked according to the fancy of the sculptor. Animals of this kind abound in early sculptures, though in later sculptures they came to be restricted to the stereotyped *vyāḷa* and *makara*. In Bhārhut, Sāñchi, Bodh-gayā, Mathurā, Amarāvatī and a host of other places the sculptures show these quaint animals, productions of variegated sculptural fancy. Most of these are aquatic monsters coming below at the base and winged creatures coming on top and crowning the pillar. The aquatic monsters are results of a blend of body parts of terrestrial and aquatic animals. Horses, elephants and bulls, half equine, elephantine and bovine respectively but every one of them with the hind half of the body shaped after the fish with lovely scales, fins and tail are

---

1. वहन्ति यं कुण्डलशोभितानना महाशना व्योमचरा निशाचराः ।

Demons (lit. night prowlers) that wander in the sky and eat overmuch and with their faces adorned by *kuṇḍala* earrings bear it (*i.e.* the Puṣpaka palace). Rāmāyaṇa V, viii, 7.

तां स्म तत्र मयेनोक्ता रक्षन्ति च वहन्ति च ॥
सभामष्टौ सहस्राणि किङ्करा नाम राक्षसाः ।
अन्तरिक्षचरा घोरा महाकाया महाबलाः ॥

Eight thousand demons known as Kiṅkaras, terrible, huge-bodied, immensely strong and moving in the sky, bear that mansion and guard it (acting) on the orders of Maya. Mahābhārata II, iii, 28.

2. ईहामृगसमायुक्तैः कार्तस्वरहिरण्मयैः ।
सुकृतैराचितं स्तम्भैः प्रदीप्तमिव च श्रिया ॥

Filled with excellently fashioned pillars of pure gold with animals (worked) on them according to (the sculptor's) fancy and lit as it were by (its) beauty. Rāmāyaṇa. V, ix, 13.

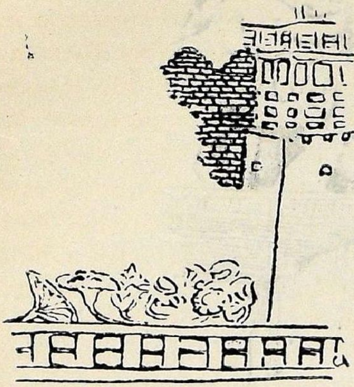

Fig. 1.

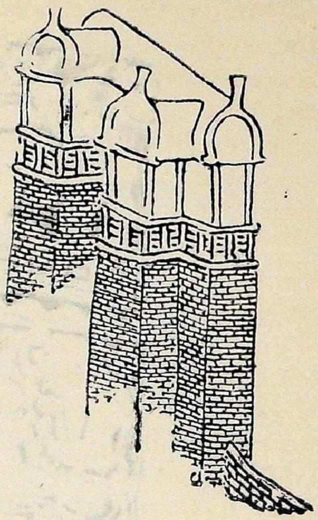

Fig. 2.

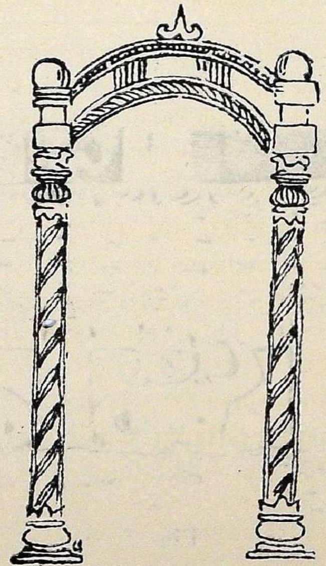

Fig. 3.

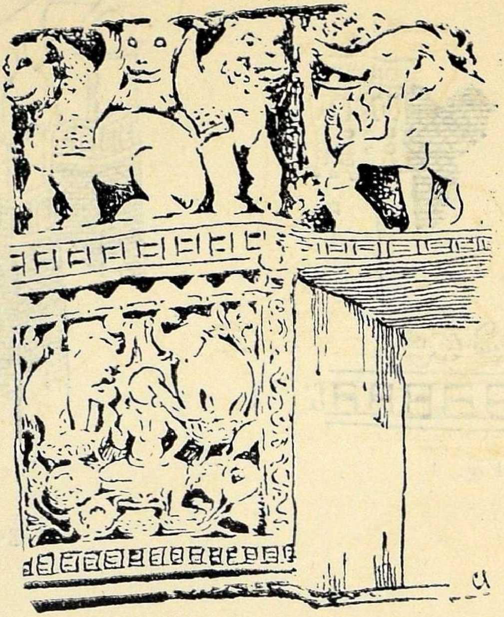

Fig. 4

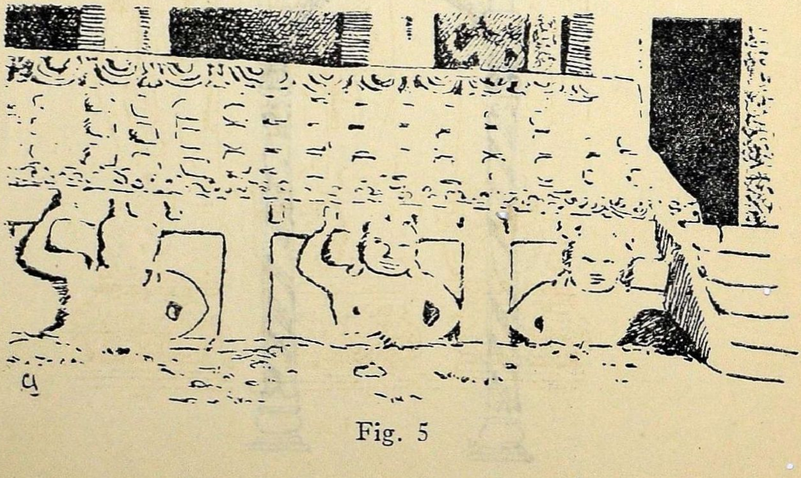

Fig. 5

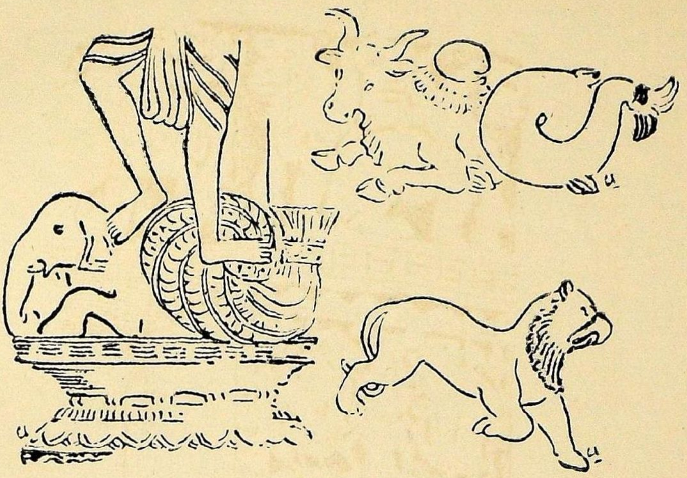

Fig. 6.

Fig. 7.

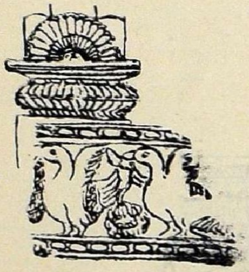

Fig. 8.

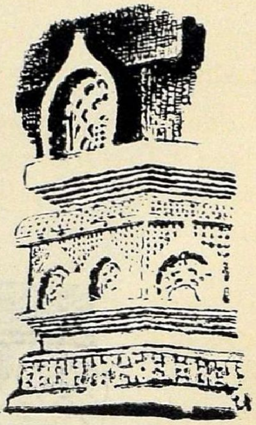

Fig. 9.

delightful animals of fancy. Wings shooting from the root of the forelegs of elephants, lions and the like make the aerial monsters that couch on the pillar capitals. The griffin, a monster with aquiline beak and body leonine, is one more of these animals of imagination. The aquatic monsters are generally shown under the feet of human figures carved on the shaft of the pillars and they may be seen if fig. 6. Fig. 6a is from the Bhārhut rail; fig. 6b is from a pillar from Amarāvatī; Fig. 6c is from a pilaster from Jaggayyapeṭṭa.

On the shaft of the pillar and pilaster are carved figures generally of the gentler sex. Some of the finest are from Bhūteśar near Mathurā. Of the many that once adorned the pilasters on the casing slabs of the *stūpa* at Jaggayyapeṭṭa three are given in fig. 7. Similar to these are the lovely damsels that adorn the Puṣpaka palace as described by Vālmīki.[1] He says they are *nārīpravēkas* (best of women) and these sculptures appear almost as if fashioned to answer the description.

Under the pillars and pilasters the plinth of the palace was decorated with a frieze of geese as seen in fig. 8 which represents a fragment of an early sculpture from Amarāvatī. A similar pattern is described by Vālmīki who mentions that the Puṣpaka palace appears to be borne as it were by excellent geese.[2] Not satisfied with the description of the decorative motifs Vālmīki also describes lavishly the material used for fashioning those figures and the costliest coral and gems are named.[3] The sculptured geese with fluttering wings and with lotuses and garlands in their beaks answer Vālmīki's description of geese with

---

1. नारीप्रवेकैरिव दीप्यमानम्
Illuminated as it were by excellent females (figures). Rāmāyaṇa, V, vii, 7.

2. हंसप्रवेकैरिव वाह्यमानम् ।
Being borne as it were by excellent geese (*i.e.* frieze of geese). *Ibid* V, vii, 7.

3. प्रवालजाम्बूनदपुष्पपक्षाः सलीलमावर्जितजिह्मपक्षाः ।
कामस्य साक्षादिव भान्ति पक्षाः कृता विहङ्गाः सुमुखाः सुपक्षाः ॥
With curved wings drooped sportively, birds with auspicious beaks and wings were made, the wings decorated with flowers of coral and gold and appearing like the actual wings of Cupid. *Ibid.* V, vii. 13.

curved wings sportively drooped and with auspicious beaks and wings. Lotuses and garlands are auspicious, and beaks carrying them may also be styled auspicious. The wings of the birds are decorated with coral and gold flowers and the patterns worked in the sculptured wings of birds answer the description.

One other feature of early architecture is the presence of *vedikā* near the *jālavātāyana*.[1] It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss the different types of *jālavātāyana* or perforated windows. Most cave temples of Western India provide excellent examples of *jālavātāyanas*. *Vedikā* is a rail surrounding a building or coming above a structure as a balustrade and also similarly in the case of flights of steps. In this sense it is used very often in early literature.[2] The *vedikā* is composed of plinth, uprights, cross bars and coping. This and the perforated windows can be seen in fig. 9, a portion of the Kondane cave.

---

1. जालवातायनैर्युक्तं काञ्चनैः स्फाटिकैरपि ।
इन्द्रनीलमहानीलमणिप्रवरवेदिकम् ॥

Possessing perforated windows of gold and crystal and having balustrades of (varieties of blue stone like) *Indranīla* and *Mahānīla*. Rāmāyaṇa V, ix, 16.

2. See '*Vedikā*' in "Indian Architectural Terms" by Dr. A.K. Coomaraswamy, J. A. O. S., Vol. xlviii, 1928 p. 273.

THEORIES ABOUT ABLAUT

Part III.

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(Continued from page 326 of J.O.R.M., Vol. XII, Pt. IV.)

In connection with the statement I made,[1] that Noreen combines the variation of *ē*: *ō* in τίθημι: θωμός with that of *vēnimus*: βωμός, it must be remembered that H. Pedersen[2] says, "On peut ajouter que le grec a aboli dans les mêmes circonstances les alternances de voyelles de timbre différent c'est pour cette raison qu' on a τίνημι: τίνεμεν (qui a entraîné νετός) et δίδωμι: δὶδομεν (qui a entraîné δοτός, cf. δάνος." Meillet gives as examples of roots in *ē : *ə, *ā : *ə, *ō : ə the following:—τίθημι: τίθεμεν; ἵστμι (dor. ἵστāμι) ἵσταμι; δίηωμι: δὶδομεν[3] Compare Sanskrit *dá-dhā-mi* with (gr. τὶθη-μι-*tí-ṣṭhāmi* with dor. ἵ-στάμι *sthi-táh* with greek στα-τός *dá-dā-mi* with gr. δί-δω-μι and *dì-tiḥ* with greek δό-σις.[4]

I have stated that genitives in *es*/ *os* and ablatives in *ets* / *ots* are as old as the Indo-Hittite period. [See *J. O. R. M.* Volume XII, p. 279. f. n. 3. Cf. *also* E.H. Sturtevant, *Language* Vol. VIII, p. 9. 1932. *Vide.* H. Pedersen for *-*ēts* in ablaut with*-*etos*, *Hittitisch und die Anderen. Indoeuropäischen Sprachen. p.* 26. *Section* 18.] According to Holger Pedersen, Hittite ablative in-(*a*) z (*a*) might contain the reduced grade of the adverbial ending -*tós* **ts* from **tós*. Greek.

1. *J.O R.M.*, Vol. XII, p. 279.

2. *Études Lituaniennes* (=Det kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Sclskab. Historisk-filolojiske Medelelser XIX, 3.) Kopenhagen 1933, p. 54.

3. Meillet, *Introdutionàl' étude comparative des lāngues Indo-Européennes.* Paris, 1915. 4th edition. p. 155.

4. Meillet, *ibid.* p. 139, 4th edition, p. 159, 1937.

ἀμφίς beside skr. *abhitas*.[1] Obviously, **ts* the zero-grade of **tos* which in the Indo-European developed into *s* in the ablative except in the *o*-stems[2] was the ablative-instrumental ending in the Indo-Hittite period. It is very clear that the same sandhi conditions are responsible for the Hittite ablative ending *z* (=*ts*) and the Hittite instrumental in *t* [cf. E.H. Sturtevant, *Comp. gr. of Hittite.* Sections 93b, 102, 143c, 196, 197, 197c]. I am very much inclined to accept this explanation of E.H. Sturtevant that the Hittite instrumental is from Indo-Hittite *R* (*v*)+ *S* grade of root plus zero grade*-*ts* of the *IH v* suffix **tos*.[3] In this connection, it is interesting to note that in H. Hirt's *Indogermanische grammatik.* Teil V, p. 230, 1929, there is an attractive suggestion that the difference between the nominative and the genitive form of **ped*- is due to old accentual difference. [See Roland G Kent, *Language*, Vol. V, 1929, p. 264.]

The laryngeal hypothesis alluded to in footnote 3 of page 280 (*J.O.R.M.* Vol. XII) rests on the evidence furnished by Hittite and certain other Anatolian languages, *viz.*, Luwian, "Hieroglyphic Hittite", and Lycian. E.H. Sturtevant's theory is that there were four Indo-European consonants: (1), a glottal stop of palatal colour which is not recorded in Hittite and which does not change the quality of a neighbouring *e*; (2) a glottal stop of velar colour which too is not recorded in Hittite, but which changes a neighbouring *e* to *a*; (3) *x*, a velar or laryngeal voiceless spirant which in Hittite is represented by *ḫ* and normally written double where the cuneiform system makes that possible. This also changes a neighbouring *e* to *a*; (4) *y*, a velar or laryngeal voiced spirant which too in Hittite is represented by *ḫ*, but which is never written double and which does not change the quality of a neighbouring *e* [E.H. Sturtevant, The Evidence of Anatolian

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1. Holger Pedersen, *op. cit.* 24 f. Vide also E.H. Sturtevant, *Language*, Vol. VIII, p. 9, and Vol. XIV, P. 290.

2. Where we find *t* as in Sanskrit *dānāt*, O. Latin, *dōnōd*.

3. Cf. also Henry Lee Smith, J.R. Some Germanic developments of *IE* ***ĝeneu* and **ĝen*—;**ĝenē*. Language Vol. XIV, P. 100.

4. *See* E.H. Sturterant, The Prehistory of Indo-European *ā*-stems. Language. Volume, XIV, page. 239.

languages for Indo-European consonants in the Journal of the American Oriental Society, Vol. 58, p. 530, 1938.]

Kurylowicz [Symbolae. . · Rozwadowski 95-104); with slight modification later in *Études Indo-Européennes* I 27-76, 253-5.][1] Kraków 1935.] operates with four laryngeals while couvreur [*De Hettitische h̆, een bijdrage lot de Studie Van het Indo-Europeesche Vocalisne.* 140-6, the Bibliotheque du Museon, 5, 1937 thinks that only three laryngeals have to be postulated. 189-94, 252-6.] A remarkably simple and attractive form of the laryngeal hypothesis is that of H. Pedersen who operates only with two laryngeals in the Indo-European. [*Hittitisch wund die anderen Indocuopaischen Sprachen.* pp. 179-90, 1938. *See also* E. H. Sturtevant, Language, Vol. XIV, p. 292.]

To him H_1 is the laryngeal which must have had no influence upon vowel quality while under the influence of H_2 the immediately preceding or following *e* should have been converted into *a* and that both phonemes must have yielded *h̆* (*h̆ h̆* between vowels) in Hittite (which in his opinion does not form a unit against the previously known Indo-European languages but which is only just another Indo-European language—"Zweitens ist der Schon Von Mansion Mélanges H.P.,S. 480-487, besonders S, 486, gebrührend betonte Gundsatz zu beachten, dass nur gemein-same Neuerungen der zehn lebendigen Sprachzweige sie dem Hittitischen gegenüber als eine Einheit characterisieren Kōnnen." H. Pedersen, Hittitisch und die anderen Indo, Europaischen Sprachen p. 12. *See also* Mansion Mélanges linguistiqucs offerts *à* M. Holger Pedersen. Aarhus 1937, p. 486. E.H. Stuterant, Language Vol. XIV, p. 290-1938; E. H. Sturtevant, The pronoun* *so** *sā*; **tod* and the Indo-hittite hypothesis. Language Vol. XV, 1939, p. 12), the

1. Kurylowicz maintained that the Hittite *h* represented an *a*-coloured laryngeal. Sapir [Language Vol. X, 276. n. 4.] recognizes another value too for Hittite *h*. [*See also* E. H. Sturtevant, Language, Vol. XII, 186, 210-3, 1936, XIV, 12 f. 1938.]

"While there is difference of opinion about this second value of Hittite *h*, all the scholars named are agreed that the double writing of Hittite *h* indicates an original laryngeal of *a*- color" E. H. Sturtevant, Language, Vol. XIV, p. 108f. n. and p. 242, 1938.

only exception being when they must have been lost before consonants with compensatory lengthening. Further, Pedersen thinks that *a* between consonants is yielded by both phonemes which are lost after a stop with doubling (or lengtheming) of the stop. His view is that *IE* $\breve{\bar{o}}$ and Hittite *a* are due to ablaut and he does not make the assumption that an initial laryngeal in Indo-European corresponds to an initial vowel in Hittite.

In passing, it may be of interest to note here that the Hittite *hu-e-ik-zi* "he conjectures" which implying the laryngeal hypothesis forms a parallel to the hypothetical forms given by F.B.J, Kuiper [*Die indogermanischen Nasalpraesnentia*. Amsterdam. 1937, p. 71.] in his treatment of the formans *-en-* Conj. * *i u u-ég-mi* I Sg. * *i u n-ég-mi*. Again *dòhmi* (**dhew-gh-*) is not different from *yog-*(**yew-g-*) [for contra, see kuiper, *loc. cit.*] to "those who are inclined to the theory of the existence of at least two laryngeal consonants in the Indo-European (symbolized variously *ə* or *ḥ*, *a*, etc), and who would accept the theory that the Indo-European verbal base had, as set out by Benveniste in the normal grade two consonants only, separated by the vowel *e*" [*See* H.W. Bailey, Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, University of London, Vol. IX, 1939, pp. 1056-7.]

From *e* (Skt. *a*) in the accented grade, such quantitative or qualitative-quantitative variations of sounds in the corresponding unaccented syllables as *i*, *u*, *ī*, *ū*, besides reduced *e* and the "Schwund" are produced. Similarly in the *e*-series from *e* (Skt. in the accented grade, we have *ə* and the diphthongs *əi*, *əu* and, in special case, the "schwund". It is assumed that most of the verbs discussed towards the close of the last instalment of this paper[1] belonged to one heavy ablaut series. But it makes absolutely no difference in regard to the weak form whether the a high grade *ēi*, *ēu* is only due to lengthening, or original. It is difficult, moreover, to distinguish between original and secondary lengthening No doubt, Streitberg suggested the criterion of accent quality. But it is not always easy to apply this. Final consonants as in **skhēi-d*[2] are 'root-increments.' Hence, it cannot be

1. *J.O.R.M.*, Vol. XII, p. 326, 1938.
2. Brugmann, Indogermanische Forschungen, VI, 1896, p. 93.

objected from the view-point of Streitberg's theory to regard the lengthening of the diphthongs as secondary. Doubtless, there is some justification to postulate the light series when we find an ablaut form *ei̯* or *oi̯* by the side of *ei̯* and *əi̯*[1] even as *e* beside *ē*.[2] But it is possible to think of individual transfers also [cf. C.D. Buck, *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. XVII, p. 276, f. n.]

A convenient scheme representing this stage is

Weak.	Strong.
u	*eu̯ ou̯*
ū	*eu̯ ou̯*
ə̯u	
	eu̯ə ou̯ə
	u̯ē
u̯ə	*u̯ō*
	u̯ā[3]

Undoubtedly *i* and *u* were derivative vowel phonemes of the weak ablaut grade.

We find in the oldest vedic dialect, these phonemes for all outward appearances, not affected by ablaut. Wright's[4], instancing Skt. *Jīvati* is to the point here. [B. K. Ray, The Morphology of old English noun and the verb. p. 21.] Sometimes, however, the claim is made that these vowel phonemes were independent of ablaut[5]. Hirt's view here is most acceptable [cf. H. Hirt, *Indogermanische Ablaut*. 9. Anm. 2.] In like manner, *ī* and *ū* everywhere are weak grade vowels. In the former case, *ēi*, *Jē*, *ejd* are the strong grade combinations and in the latter case *ēu*, *Wē*, *ewj* are the strong grade combinations [Brugmann, K. Gr. 213 (1), d, e; cf. also Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik. i.

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1. Cf. Per Persson, *Wurzebeaweiterung*, p. 117.
2. Streitberg. *Indogermanische Forstchungen*, III, 305.
3. C.D. Buck. *op. cit.*, p. 276.
4. Comp. Gr. Gr. 456.
5. Wackernagel Altindische Grammatik, 14, 65. Macdonell, *Vedic grammar*, 23 f. n. That IE *ə* may also be found outside ablaut is shown by Wackernagel. *loc. cit.* section 74. Cases where ablaut are not patent, are referred to, by him also, *ibid*. Section 16, Contra. Brugmann, K. Gr. 127.

17, 20, 76-81; Macdonell, *Vedic Grammar*, 9, 11, 24, 27, 28. B. K. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 21.]

It is plausible therefore to derive all the simple *IE* vowel phonemes and diphthongs (except, of course, *ŏ*, *ă* and their diphthongs) from the accented vowel phonemes *e* and *ē*, through the operation of ablaut. Scholars like Kuhn,[1] Scherer, Verner[2] and Meyer[3] were not inclined to treat *ŏ* and *ă* as distinctive vowel phonemes in the proto Indo-European. Their view was that *e*, *o*, and *a* are phonemic variants of one macro-phoneme, to use the terminology of the modern linguisticians. The musical character of the *IE* accent, at an early period might have been the cause of the rise of the phonemic variants *e*, *o* and *a* of an *IE* simple vowel phoneme which must have been "of unstable, obscure or medium quality, which varied within sufficiently wide limits, and answered to *e*, *o*, or *a* according to the speaker's dialectal or individual peculiarity."[4].

(*To be Continued*).

1. Kuhn, *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, Vol. XV, 402 ff.
2. Verner, *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXIII, 123 ff.
3. Meyer, *Kuhn's Zeitschrift*, Vol. XXIV, 226.
4. B. K. Ray, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE MĀṆḌŪKYA KĀRIKĀS.

BY

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While preparing an annotated translation of Śeṣa's 'Paramārthasāra', my attention was drawn to some notable parallels between that work and the 'Māṇḍūkya-kārikās' of Gauḍapāda. The former work is ascribed to Patañjali, as an incarnation of Ādiśeṣa; it is in some places referred to as Pātañjala-smṛti; Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa in his 'Laghu-mañjūṣā' accepts the ascription and is at pains to reconcile the Sāṅkhya-Yoga realism of the Yoga philosopher and the sad-asat-khyāti of the grammarian with the advaita doctrine propounded in the 'Paramārthasāra'. If there is any value in the ascription (which it is difficult to dismiss lightly), it seems permissible to look to this Patañjali as in part at least the inspirer of Gauḍapāda.

I

The resemblances may be briefly noticed. Both works are largely concerned with the three avasthās and their presiding sentiencies, viśva, taijasa and prājña; these veil the fourth, which is the real.[1] That māyā is a śakti or vibhūti or svabhāva of the Lord (deva) is a conception characteristic of the earliest advaita; this is found in both works.[2] Both advocate the view that the Lord appears to delude himself as it were.[3] Both declare clearly that in truth there is neither origination nor destruction, neither bondage nor release.[4] The jīvanmukta is described by both authors as living according to his own sweet will, without obligations and in such wise as to be comparable to an inert being (jaḍavat).[5] Advaita, say both these authors, has no conflict with any other school of thought, though these latter

1. *PS*, v. 31; *MK*, I, 1 and 11.
2. *PS*, vv. 30, 32, 33, 56; *MK*, I, 9, 11 and 12.
3. *PS*, v. 32; *MK*, II, 19.
4. *PS*, v. 69; *MK*, II, 32.
5. *PS*, v. 71, 78; *MK*, II, 36, 37.

may conflict among themselves.[1] Less significant points of agreement are the extensive use of analogies like shell-silver and rope-snake. But the ether analogy employed by both calls for some attention. Real unity and apparent multiplicity are explained by the advaitin with the help of the illustration of ākāśa, which though really one and infinite appears to be delimited and many because of adjuncts. Sukha-duḥkha-vyavasthā among various jīvas is made intelligible by this analogy; for in spite of the unity of the ether, the defilement of one pot-ether by smoke etc., does not import defilement of other pot-ethers or of ether at large. The explanation is necessary and has point when a plurality of jīvas is admitted or the position in regard to this question is not clearly defined; this is the case in the 'Paramārthasāra'. Gauḍapāda adopts the analogy and the explanation of the vyavasthā,[2] but appears to be more definite is rejecting a plurality of jīvas. Thus while Śeṣa has no hesitation in accepting the mṛd, loha and visphuliṅga analogies of Śruti in respect of the relation between Paramātman and the jīvas, Gauḍapāda dismisses them all as not teaching difference, their purport being but the introduction of the doctrine of non-difference[3]. This is significant when taken in conjunction with the view noted earlier that it is the Lord himself who appears to be bound by māyā and appears to be released through vidyā, a view consistent with eka-jīva-vāda, more than with nānā-jīva-vāda. It seems plausible to conclude that the rejection of plurality which was less definite in the work of Patañjali was made more definite by Gauḍapāda, without at the same time eschewing the upapatti suggested by the ether-analogy. A textual consideration may be taken to add slightly to the plausibility. The example of clay in relation to its products comes from the 'Chāndogya'[4]; the analogy of sparks from fire is found in the 'Bṛhadāraṇyaka' and the 'Muṇḍaka'; the two are referred to in two consecutive verses of the 'Paramārthasāra' (vv. 46, 47). When we find these taken together and jointly refuted in a single verse by Gauḍapāda, it seems not implausible to hold that the latter had Śeṣa's work in mind, not merely the text from two (or three) independent Śrutis.

1. *PS*, v. 65; *MK*, III, 17; IV, 5.
2. *PS*, v. 36; *MK*, III, 5.
3 *MK*, III, 15; cp. *PS*, vv. 46, 47.
4. Also the analogy of iron (as exemplified in a pair of nail scissors) and its products.

II

When we turn to the fourth prakaraṇa of the 'Māṇḍūkya-kārikās' we find that it is nearly as long as the first three put together (100 verses as against 108), that it repeats many of the ideas and the words of the earlier prakaraṇas[1], and is reminiscent of Bauddha terms and ideas. The last-mentioned feature is so marked that it has led (misled?) scholars like Das Gupta to the view that Gauḍapāda "was possibly himself a Buddhist."[2] It may be difficult to maintain the view that the invocation[3] at the commencement of the alātaśānti-prakaraṇa is to the Buddha, though this has been stated and re-stated by scholars of weight like Prof. MM. Vidhusekhara Bhattacharya;[4] for, the words "nai-'tad buddhena bhāṣitam" in the penultimate verse seem clearly to distinguish Gauḍapāda's doctrine from that of the Buddha; and this is by no means consistent with addressing an invocation to the Buddha. "But where is the necessity", it may be asked, "for bringing in the Buddha at all?" It is because Bauddha concepts are used in the prakaraṇa and an approach made to advaita through the channel of Buddhism. Prof. Bhattacharya has (in the article mentioned) referred to the use of the term 'dharma', the comparison of it to ākāśa and so on. The Buddhist view of dharma as constitutive of the world, without importing a dharmin, is a characteristic doctrine of great significance; it corresponds in a measure to the Sāṅkhya view of guṇas as constituent

1. Cp. IV, 6-8 and III, 20-22; IV, 31-32 and II, 6-7; IV, 61-62 and III, 29-30; IV, 71 and III, 48.

2. *HIP*, p. 423.

3. A curious point about this invocation is that though commencing a prakaraṇa, it occurs in the middle of the whole work, which contains no invocation at the beginning or end. The bhāṣya-kāra has no explanation to offer; but Ānandagiri says that the praṇava occurring at the beginning serves as an invocation; so too does the obeisance in the final verse to that supreme state difficult to discern, free from multiplicity etc.; an invocation being required to the middle too, to conform to śiṣṭācāra, it is supplied here. The explanation is ingenious, but hardly serves to remove the impression that the fourth prakaraṇa with self-contained invocations at the beginning and end, and many verses repeating ideas and words from the other prakaraṇas, was an after-thought, if not an independent work.

4. *See* Journal of the Benares Hindu University, I, pp, 3-13.

of prakṛti, not as qualifying it.[1] It is possible that the two views developed independently without borrowing. However that may be, their value is unquestionable for the advaitin in dissolving the naive belief in a world of hard substrate-entities possessing qualities; once the substrates go, the qualities are naturally realised to be evanescent. An early advaita teacher, as Gauḍapāda undoubtedly was, might be expected to show to his disciples the culmination of both Sāṅkhya realism and Bauddha idealism in the non-dualism of the Vedānta. To this end he would make large use of the terminology of these alien systems. In the case of the Sāṅkhya, it is here suggested, the work was already done for him in part; the 'Paramārthasāra' had presented a nondualist doctrine making use of Sāṅkhya terms and concepts; all that was needed was to add a critique of the causal concept; this Gauḍapāda did, and gave us the first three prakaraṇas; then he started from the idealist view-point of the Bauddhas and reached the same conclusion; that is why the fourth prakaraṇa is nearly as long as the other three. Thus, Gauḍapāda, the earliest known systematic formulator of advaita, may, in this work, be said to have developed his doctrine, like a wise teacher, by basing himself on earlier current realism and idealism and dialectically developing his own view. The hypothesis suggested is not inherently improbable, though it is highly problematical. If adopted, however, it will be seen to have the merit of explaining one or two knotty problems in advaita.

III

One such problem relates to jīvan-mukti and videha-mukti. For the realist, who believes that matter is never destroyed, but only reduced to a subtle, causal condition, release necessarily involves the destruction at least of the body, *i.e.*, its reduction to the causal state; for, however much one may learn to discriminate

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1. *See* Th. Stcherbatsky on 'The Dharmas of the Buddhist and the Guṇas of the Sāṁkhyas', *Indian Historical Quarterly* X, iv, 737-60. Stcherbatsky's own view is that Buddhist relativism derives from Sāṅkhya realism, much as, we may say, Hume's scepticism derives from Berkeley's idealism. If such a view is correct, one may well understand the advaitin re-acting against Sāṅkhya realism and at the same time distinguishing his own from the parallel re-action of the Bauddha, in the words "nai 'tad buddhena bhāṣitam".

the self from the not-self, so long as the latter is there in a particularised form, there is a possibility of confusion; and in any case, if release has been achieved, the cause of the particularised evolute ceases to be; and with that the effect must be merged in the cause. The cause of release is discrimination alone, nothing else; it is possible that this may come on even while the body persists by momentum, like the whirling of a potter's wheel; but its effect is not complete until the body ceases to be; for the non-merger of the body would be a clear indication of the persistence of the cause of evolution, which is also the cause of bondage. The need for videha-mukti is thus clear on Sāṅkhya bases. But it is not so for the advaitin. Once dehābhimāna is lost, there is no reason why he should not be considered fully and finally free. Not for him as for the Sāṅkhya is prakṛti real out there beyond the self; with discrimination it should have been realised not only never to have bound spirit, but never to have been real. For such a person, what is to be reduced and to what ? Whence the need for videha-mukti ? Is it not legitimate to argue that there is only one mukti for the advaitin, that it is what is called jīvan-mukti, and that videha-mukti is a cumbersome heritage from an alien system, the Sāṅkhya-Yoga?

A similar case of *haereditas damnosa* would seem to be the notion of asat. Latter-day advaita wearisomely repeats the argument "the asat cannot be cognised (asac cen na pratīyeta)"; but there is the difficulty, how, of the unreal, even non-cognisability can be known. The advaitin has to narrow down his predicate to immediate cognition; the unreal cannot be *perceived*. Even thus the proposition is difficult to defend. What is the perceptible? The smoke on the hill is perceptible, but not the fire (unless one goes up the hill); what is without the body is perceptible, not what is within (except to Yogic experience, or when one's body is cut up under a local anaesthetic); one's actions are perceptible, not one's puṇya or pāpa (except to God); in all such cases, the exclusion of perceptibility is within the real (sat) and is with limitations; the negation is not absolute, but subjective. And theistic systems postulate at least one being, Īśvara, to whom everything is immediate. Is the unreal immediate to Īśvara ? Obviously not. Nor in our experience is it related to the immediately presentable in any manner analogous to the others which we class as parokṣa. The unreal is what is wholly other; its very mention is a contradic-

tion; and any predication of it, that it is parokṣa or aparokṣa, is a greater contradiction still. This is not the place to give a detailed exposition of advaita; but it can be expounded without the use of this category which is a nest of contradictions. Is it illegitimate to assume that it was inherited from the Bauddhas, partly by assimilation (as in the inferences as to the world not being sat or asat or sadasat) and partly by negative reaction (as against the doctrine of asat-khyāti)? If the derivations suggested are not implausible, the suggestion that Gauḍapāda in the 'Kārikās' was blending realism and nihilism into idealist Vedānta will gain some credit.

IV

It has been said with some justification that the commentator on the 'Kārikās' cannot be properly identified with the great bhāṣyakāra, Śaṅkara.[1] An argument of some weight in this connection is the commentator's failure to do justice to Bauddha terms like 'dharma' occurring in the 'Kārikās'. Special notice may be drawn for instance to the commentary on IV, 53: "dravyam dravyasya hetuḥ syād anyad anyasya cai 'va hi| dravyatvam anyabhāvo vā dharmāṇām no 'papadyate||". As it stands, the verse need mean no more than this: Substance can be the cause of substance, *e.g.*, threads of cloth; the non-substance too may be the cause of non-substance, *e.g.*, the colour of threads in respect of the colour of the cloth; but the world we hold is constituted of dharmas without a dharmin; they are therefore neither substance nor non-substance (as understood by the Logician realists); how can the causal category apply to these dharmas? To any one familiar with the Bauddha-prakriyā, this would seem the natural and normal explanation. But the commentator goes off at a tangent; he says that of any one substance *another* substance may be the cause, not itself; no non-substance is seen to be independent cause, as even an asamavāyi-kāraṇa can function only through a samavāyi-kāraṇa; neither substanceness nor otherness is intelligible in the case of selves (dharmas); hence the self is neither cause nor effect. The self is not substance, it is said by Ānandagiri, because it is nirguṇa and substance is that which possesses guṇa; nor is it other, since as the one reality

1. *See* Amarnath Ray on 'The Bhāgavata Purāṇa and the Kārikās of Gauḍapāda', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, London, VIII, i, 107-111.

it is the nature of all. Assuming that the explanation is not wholly implausible, it seems to go far from the words of the Kārikā and strain the word 'anya' to say nothing of 'dharma'. In the context anyatva would naturally mean not reciprocal difference as of substances, but a nature other than substance-ness. And the opening words of Ānandagiri's ṭīkā would seem to imply this; thus he says: "avayava-dravyam avayavidravyasyo 'pādānam; avayava-guṇāś cā 'vayavi-guṇeṣu samāna-jātīyeṣv asamavāyino dṛṣṭāh". But later he exhibits fidelity to his immediate original, the bhāṣya. Here and elsewhere the ṭīkākāra's ingenuity commands greater respect than the bhaṣyakāra's. And for what is there the claim of nirguṇatva and ananyatva? For dharmas (dharmāṇām) in the plural. Even if by a metaphysical feat we could conceive of a quality-less plurality, the acceptance of their ananyatva is an impossible achievement. Is this the bhāṣya of the renowned advaitin, Śaṅkara?

IV

The commentary on III, 14 offers a real difficulty.[1] It says that whatever difference is declared by Śruti between the jīva and the Paramātman is figurative, bhaviṣyad-vṛttyā; such declarations cannot be taken in their literal sense. The first difficulty is offered by the word 'utpatti' in the first line 'prāg

1. III, 13 presents a curious problem; it refers to the unanimous Śruti praise of non-difference between jīva and the Supreme, and the condemnation of difference, and says "tad evam hi samañjasam" presumably meaning that such praise and blame are intelligible in the light of the reasoning already set forth. There is an alternative reading 'eva' for 'evam' but it does not make much sense; Ānandagiri is cognisant of the reading 'evam', explaining it thus: "dvaitasyā 'śāstrīyatvam advaitasyai'va tattātparyagamyatvam ity aṅgīkāre sati". Curiously enough, the bhāṣyakāra gives no explanation of 'evam', but writes so as to suggest that he adopted the 'eva' reading: "tad evam (alternative reading is 'eva') hi samañjasam ṛjvavabodham nyāyyam ity arthaḥ; yās tu tārkika-parikalpitāḥ kudṛṣṭayaḥ tā anṛjvyo 'nirūpyamāṇā na ghaṭanām prāñcatī 'ty abhiprāyaḥ"; the exclusion in the second sentence is consistent only with the reading 'eva' in the first; but it is in commenting on that sentence (not the Kārikā) that Ānandagiri reads 'evam'. That there is some confusion between the ṭīkākāra and the bhāṣyakāra is evident; but the poi t needs not to be laboured, since it is largely a matter of readings.

utpatteḥ'. This would mean 'prior to origination' or 'before creation'. We do not know of Scriptural declarations of difference prior to creation. The commentator refers to difference as taught in the karmakāṇḍa, but does not make it clear how he arrives at the reference. Here again Ānandagiri comes to the rescue (of the reader) explaining utpatti as vyutpatti, perfect knowledge such as is given by the Vedānta alone. What precedes it is the karmakāṇḍa; the difference declared therein is figurative. But, why bhaviṣyad-vṛttyā? The example usually given and adduced here by the bhāṣyakāra is 'odanam pacati (he cooks food) where only rice-grains are undergoing the process of cooking; these are referred to as 'food' because they will become food. Is difference similarly taught, because difference will come to be? Is it not the entire purport of the Vedānta on the contrary that what will be realised is non-difference? If any figurative predication is to be made bhaviṣyad-vṛttyā, should it not be abheda rather than bheda? In the bhāṣyakāra's own words what is desired to be declared (pratipipādayiṣitam) is but the oneness (ekatvam) of the jīva and the Paramātman; the bhaviṣyad-vṛtti refers to this ekatva (upaniṣatsv ekatvam śrutyā pratipipādayiṣitam bhaviṣyatī 'ti). In the light of this non-difference which is going to be or going to be declared, it would be intelligible to use terms signifying non-difference even in the present stage of difference; this would correspond to the usage in the example 'odanam pacati'. What happens, however, is the opposite, *viz.*, the teaching of difference; how can this be a case of bhaviṣyad-vṛtti? The bhāṣya gives no explanation; but it contains a suggestion which is ingeniously if not convincingly worked up by Ānandagiri. Śruti can have for purport only what is novel and is a human goal. Difference is not novel being repetitive of what is found in ordinary experience; nor is it a desirable human end. If it appears to be taught by Śruti, then it should be taken not literally, but figuratively in the light of, and as leading up to, the non-difference which in the Vedānta part of Śruti will be seen to be the real purport. This is plausible, but by no means clear in the bhāṣya, which says "bhāvinīm eka-vṛttim āśritya" not "eka-vṛttes tātparyatvam āśritya"; Ānandagiri's ṭīkā appears to extricate from a tangle rather than explicate what is implicit. And the bhāṣya of Śaṅkara is, for all its depth (gāmbhīrya), always clear (prasanna), never requiring to be helped out in this way.

VI

Some of the statements in the bhāṣya seem to be casual and unjustifiable. The Upaniṣad by identifying the praṇava with Brahman would seem to favour a view like the grammarians' advaita. This, of course, is not acceptable to Śaṅkara, who, as we know, rejects sphoṭa. In apparent consistency with this rejection, the Māṇḍūkya-bhāṣya says "The purpose of the knowledge of the unity (of the name and the thing signified by it) is to simultaneously *remove*, by a single effort (the illusion of) *both the name and the thing* and establish (the nature of) *Brahman which is other than both.*"[1] Yet when the highest, the turīya, is identified with Oṁkāra in its unquartered totality, the bhāṣya gives us no light as to whether this 'name and thing' are to be removed or whether we should rest at the level of that identification, as the Upaniṣad seems to intend.[2] It may be thought that even at this turīya stage the duality of the name and the named is transcended; for, we are told in *MU,* XII that this fourth is amātra and avyavahārya; and the bhāṣya in explaining the latter says it is because "speech and mind which correspond to the name and the object disappear or cease".[3] Presumably the mātra-less praṇava is identical with Brahman, the Supreme real. This is intelligible. But why then does the commentator say earlier (in the context already noted), that "as a thing is known through its name, so the highest Brahman is known through *Aum* alone" and "because *Aum* is the means to the knowledge of Brahman on account of its having the closest proximity to Brahman ".[4] The praṇava either is Brahman or is the name of Brahman; either position is intelligible, but not the bhāṣyakāra's vacillation between the two.

Again, in introducing the commentary on the third prakaraṇa, it is said "Now it is asked whether non-duality can be established only by Scriptural evidence or whether it can be proved by reasoning as well ?"[5] Presumably in the bhāṣyakāra's view this chapter is given to a dialectical establishment of advaita;

1. Commentary on *MU*, I ; the English translation is Nikhilānanda's ; the italics are mine.

2. *See* bhāṣya on *MK*, I, 25-29.

3. *Nikhilānanda*, p. 89.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 10.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 155.

yet we find a not inconsiderable part of it dealing with the purport of Śruti texts; such for instance are verses 13 and 14, the commentary on which we had to consider just now. What is the special propriety of this introductory remark, which has led some,[1] through an illegitimate assumption, to the legitimate conclusion that advaita is not theology but philosophy? Such casualness may be expected of a minor commentator, not of the great Śaṅkara.

VI

The relation of the commentator to Gauḍapāda is by no means well settled. The expression paramaguru in the penultimate verse need mean no more than "supreme teacher (of advaita)" especially when taken together with the superlative praise given to him as the person who "rescued this nectar (of advaita) . . . . . from the innermost depths of the ocean of the Vedas by churning it with the (churning) rod of his illumined reason".[2] It has been suggested[3] that a number of other advaita teachers may have intervened between Gauḍapāda and the bhāṣyakāra. In what is undoubtedly Śaṅkara's work, the references to Gauḍapāda are as remote as they are reverential, *e.g.*, 'sampradāyavit'[4]. In any case Das Gupta's suggestion that Gauḍapāda was alive and perhaps taught his own bhāṣyakāra is an unfortunate mistake due to taking the last verse to be an obeisance addressed to Gauḍapāda. As Ānandagiri points out, it is an obeisance by the bhāṣyakāra, offered to his own guru, since devotion to him is the proximate cause of the attainment of knowledge (svagurubhakter vidyāprāptāv antaraṅgatvam aṅgīkṛtya tadīya pādasarasīruha-yugalam praṇamati). There is no mention of any name either in the last or the penultimate verse; but upapatti as well as usage sanction the interpretation given by Ānandagiri. It is not uncommon to offer obeisance to the writer of the work commented on and then to one's own guru; and the relation between these latter need not be that of immediate master and disciple. In any case there is no room for the

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1. Like Mr. V. Subrahmanya Iyer of Mysore, and some others.

2. *Nikhilānanda*, pp. 360-361.

3. By Amarnath Ray, *loc. cit.*

4. *See* Sūtrabhāṣya, I, iv, 14-15; II. i, 9.

fantastic assumption that the bhāṣyakāra "also speaks of the learning, self-control and modesty of the other pupils of Gauḍapāda."[1]

VIII

No reference has been made here to the vexed problem of whether the Āgama-prakaraṇa is Gauḍapāda's work or part of the Upaniṣad. It has been suggested that all four prakaraṇas are part of a more extensive Āgama-śāstra now lost.[2] And the thesis that Madhva was right in treating the Āgama-prakaraṇa as Upaniṣad has been re-affirmed[3] of late with much force and some ability. It is difficult to account for the reference to it as Śruti by some admittedly competent Advaita writers.[4] Even apart from these ancient questions, there are enough of other problems in the Kārikās and the bhāṣya, claiming investigation and fresh consideration from scholars. This paper, it is hoped, will serve some purpose by drawing attention to a few of these, though doing nothing to solve them.

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1. *HIP*, p. 423.

2. By Dr. A. Venkatasubbiah, in the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, December, 1935.

3. By Mr. B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma.

4. E. g. Raṅgarāja, Appayya's father, in the *Advaitavidyāmukura*. *See* article under this name, *J.O.R.M.*, IX, p. 281, *n*.

THE DATE OF THE YOGAVĀSIṢṬHA.

BY

DR. V. RAGHAVAN, M.A.

Dr. B. L. Atreya's study of the Yogavāsiṣṭha,[1] has recently drawn greater attention to the work. An important part of his study is his conclusion regarding the date of the work. Winternitz thought that since Śaṅkara did not mention it, the Yogavāsiṣṭha was perhaps written by a contemporary of Śaṅkara (p. 13, Atreya's Thesis). Professor Sivaprasad Bhattacarya thought that the work was produced between the 10th and the 12th centuries (pp. 545-554, Proceedings, III Oriental Conference, Madras). When I take this question of the date of the Yagavāsiṣṭha I mean the text which has formed the basis of Dr. Atreya's study, *viz.*, the Nirnaya Sagar Press edition of the Yogavāsiṣṭha in two volumes with the commentary of Ānandabodha. The question of the date of the Yogavāsiṣṭha is inseparably connected with the question of interpolations and additions, but unlike Mr. P.C. Divanji, who, in his articles on the same subject[2], goes into the questions of the additions to the text of the Yogavāsiṣṭha, Dr. Atreya studies the question only on the basis of the Nirnaya Sagar edition of the Yogavāsiṣṭha in two volumes. Of this text found in the Nirnaya Sagar edition in two volumes, Mr. P.C. Divanji held the date as the second quarter of the 10th century (p. 27, Proceedings of the 7th Oriental Conference). Dr. Atreya, however, has propounded a view that the Yogavāsiṣṭha is a work to be placed between Kālidāsa and Bhartṛhari (p. 27 of his thesis), and that the work is earlier than Gauḍapāda, Bhartṛhari, Śaṅkara and Sureśvara whom, it has, according to Dr. Atreya, influenced (p. 6, *ibid*). It is therefore necesaary to re-open this question of the date of the Yogavāsiṣṭha. Let me first tackle the problem of the

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1. The Philosophy of the Yogavāsiṣṭha, the TPH, Adyār, 1936.

2. Proceedings of the 7th Oriental Conference, Baroda, pp. 15-30; the Poona Orientalist, III, 1, pp. 29-44 and the New Indian Antiquary, I, 12, pp. 697-715.

earlier limit to this date and examine Dr. Atreya's conclusions on that.

In II. 18. 33, the Yogavāsiṣṭha describes itself as a Kāvya[1] and large sections of it are composed in the Kāvya style. The author is an undoubted master both of vocabulary and imagery, and though there are repetitions in it, his literary manner is comparable to that of Bāṇa and Bhavabhūti for the profuseness of imagination and expression. While none can deny him originality and poetic power, it is all the same clear that he was one who was widely acquainted not only with Kāvyas and Nāṭakas but also with Alaṁkāra works, and as one soaked in the poetic and dramatic masterpieces of Sanskrit Literature, the author now echoes some master, now works into his verse a figure or a description from some poem or a drama, and now uses wholesale a verse from others' writings. A thorough examination of this aspect of the Yogavāsiṣṭha helps to a great extent the task of arriving at an earlier limit to the date of the work. Dr. Atreya has no doubt examined this aspect, but his investigation is meagre and tainted by his assumptions. He notes parallels between the Yogavāsiṣṭha and Kālidāsa, Bhartṛhari, Bhavabhūti and Bhāravi, but assumes that it is with reference to Kālidāsa alone that the Yogavāsiṣṭha is the borrower, and that with reference to the other poets, they borrowed from the Yogavāsiṣṭha. Further, there are more passages common to the Yogavāsiṣṭha and these poets than Dr. Atreya has noted, and there are passages common to the Yogavāsiṣṭha and more poets than Dr. Atreyā has marked.

KĀLIDĀSA

On p. 26 of his thesis, Dr. Atreya mentions that Kālidāsa's Meghadūta is summarised by the Yogavāsiṣṭha in VIb 119, 2-5 and on pp. 710-711 he prints these parallel passages. On the next two pages Dr. Atreya points out how Yogavāsiṣṭha III. 16.50 borrows from Kālidāsa's Kumārasambhava, IV, 4 and 39.

The following are some more passages common to the Yogavāsiṣṭha and Kālidāsa:—

Yogavāsiṣṭha.	Kālidāsa.
I. 27, 16.	Ragh. VI. 30.
विडम्ब्यते भिन्नरुचिर्हि लोकः ।	भिन्नरुचिर्हि लोकः ।

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1. शास्त्रं सुबोधमेवेदं सालङ्कारविभूषितम् ।
काव्यं रसमयं चारु दृष्टान्तैः प्रतिपादितम् ॥

II. 2, 19. निर्मले मुकुरे वक्त्रम् अयत्नेनैव बिम्बति ।	Śākuntala, VII. 32. छाया न मूर्च्छति मलोपहतप्रसादे शुद्धे तु दर्पणतले सुलभावकाशा ।
IV. 52, 28. पुष्पमेघीकृताम्बरम्	Meghadūta, I. 45. पुष्पमेघीकृतात्मा ।
VIa. 120, 17. तिर्यगूर्ध्वमधस्तान्मे व्यापको महिमा चितः ।	Kumārasambhava, VI. 71. तिर्यगूर्ध्वमधस्ताच्च व्यापको महिमा हरेः ।
VIb. 14, 7. सोऽपश्यत्प्रणिधानेन	Raghuvaṁśa, I. 74. सोऽपश्यत्प्रणिधानेन
VIb. 109, 16. निपीतोऽर्णवतीरेषु नारिकेलरसासवः ।	Raghuvaṁśa, IV. 42. नारिकेलासवं योधाः शात्रवं व पपुर्यशः ।
VIb. 115, 9. एतच्छृङ्गं हरति पवनः किंस्विदित्युन्मुखीभिः दृष्टोत्साहः चकितचकितं मुग्धसिद्धाङ्गनाभिः ।	Meghadūta, I. 14. Same, but begins अद्रेः शृङ्गं
VIb. 115, 32. प्रमदया मदयापितलज्जया	Raghuvaṁśa, IX. 31, last line, Same.

Dr. Atreya is certainly correct in assuming that the Yogavāsiṣṭha borrows from and imitates Kālidāsa.

BHĀRAVI

Appendix VI of Dr. Atreya's thesis (pp. 716-7) points out two parallels between the Yogavāsiṣṭha and the Kirātārjunīya of Bhāravi. Yogavāsiṣṭha VIb. 93, 84-5 and Kirātārjunīya XI. 12-13 are identical. The conclusion of Dr. Atreya is, of course, that Bhāravi borrows from the Yogavāsiṣṭha. But to me, the reverse seems to be the case, for I have noted in the text of the Yogavāsiṣṭha passages found in the compositions of many other poets. And from Bhāravi himself, the Yogavāsiṣṭha borrows not these two verses only which Dr. Atreya notes, but some more as shall show here.

The relativity or mutability of values is an idea of burden-like character in the Yogavāsiṣṭha. And in the many places where the Yogavāsiṣṭha stresses it, it does not fail to utilise the fine verse of Bhāravi:

शून्यमाकीर्णतामेति तुल्यं व्यसनमुत्सवैः ।
विप्रलम्भोऽपि लाभाय सति प्रियसमागमे ॥ XI. 27.

The Yogavāsiṣṭha uses this verse about four times:—

II. 16, 3.

शून्यमाकीर्णतामेति मृतिरप्युत्सवायते ।
आपत्संपदिवाभाति विद्वज्जनसमागमे ॥

III. 20, 53.

शून्यमाकीर्णतामेति तुल्यं व्यसनमुत्सवैः ।
विप्रलम्भोऽपि लाभश्च मदस्वप्नादिसंविदि ॥

III. 60, 31 and 32.

शून्यमाकीर्णतामेति * * * *
आपद्वदुत्सवः ॥

VIb. 102, 4.

आकीर्णं शून्यमेवास्य विपदश्चातिसंपदः ।
स्थितस्यापि महाराज्ये व्यसनान्येव सूत्सवाः ॥

Besides, Yogavāsiṣṭha.	III. 6, 1	अकृत्रिमप्रेमरसम्
	III. 19, 4	,, ,, रसा
and	III. 90, 14	,, ,, ,, नुविद्धम्

are reminiscent of Kirātārjunīya III. 37

अकृत्रिमप्रेमरसाभिरामम्

Bhāravi is assigned to *c.* 550 A.D. and hence the Yogavāsiṣṭha which borrows from him is later than *c.* 550 A.D.

MĀTṚGUPTA

Poet Mātṛgupta is assigned to the latter part of the sixth century. We read a verse of his in the anthologies which runs:—

शीतेनोद्धूषितस्य माषशिमिवच्चिन्तार्णवे मज्जतः etc.

and of this line we hear a faint echo in Yogavāsiṣṭha III. 19, 25.

सा तस्य ब्राह्मणी भार्या शोकेनात्यन्तकर्शिता ।
शुष्केव माषशिम्बीका हृदयेन द्विधाभवत् ॥

BĀṆA

Bāṇa wrote in the first half of the 7th century A.D. The Yogavāsiṣṭha has some ideas and expressions borrowed from Bāṇa's Kādambarī. It is certainly not reasonable to suppose that Bāṇa picked out from the Yogavāsiṣṭha.

Yogavāsiṣṭha III. 19, 23 describes the king as आदर्शः सर्वशास्त्राणाम् which is from Bāṇa's description of Śūdraka in the opening of the Kādambarī.

Yogavāsiṣṭha III. 46, 15 says, while describing the dust which the army raised:

अथोदपतदादित्यपथपीवररोधकम् ।
रजोनिभेन भूपीठमम्बरोड्डयनोन्मुखम् ॥
गर्भवासमिवापन्नं तेनासीत्तन्महापुरम् ।

Both the ideas here, the world itself appearing to ascend heavenwards and the city appearing to have entered a womb, are taken from Bāṇa's description of the marching out of Candrāpīḍa's army in the Kādambarī.

" * * अमरलोकमारुरोह रजोमिषेण मही ।
* * मुहूर्तेन च गर्भवासमिव विवेश पृथिवी ।"

There are echoes of Śukanāsa's lecture to Candrāpīḍa in the denunciation of Lakṣmī or Wealth in Yogavāsiṣṭha I. 13.

Yogavāsiṣṭha, I. 13, 4.

एषा हि पदमेकत्र न निबध्नाति दुर्भगा ।

Compare Kādambarī, p. 198, Nirnaya Sagar edition:

"कमलिनीसञ्चरणव्यतिकरलग्ननलिननालकण्टकेव न क्वचिदपि निर्भरम् आबध्नाति पदम् ।

Again Yogavāsiṣṭha, I. 13, 5.

जनयन्ती परं दाहं परामृष्टाङ्गिका सती ।
विनाशमेव धत्तेऽन्तर्दीपलेखेव कज्जलम् ॥

which compares with Kādambarī, p. 201.

"यथा यथा चेयं चपला दीप्यते दीपशिखेव कज्जलमलिनमेव कर्म केवलमुद्वमति ।"

Yogavāsiṣṭha, I. 13, 12.

एषा हि विषमा दुःखभोगिनां गहना गुहा ।

reminds us of Kādambarī, p. 201.

आवासदरी दोषाशीविषाणाम् ।

Again Yogavāsiṣṭha I. 13, 15 राहुदंष्ट्रा विवेकेन्दोः reminds us of Kādambarī, p. 202 : रीहुाजह्वा धर्मेन्दुमण्डलस्य ।

In IV. 4, 9, the Yogavāsiṣṭha has the description of a big Kadamba tree for a whole canto, where 13

सहस्रभुजशाखाढ्यं पूरिताशेषकोटरम् ।
विश्वरूपमिवोन्वृत्तं चन्द्रार्ककृतकुण्डलम् ॥

is after a passage in Bāṇa's description of the Śālmalī tree in the beginning of the Kādambarī.

"दिक्चक्रवालपरिणाममिव गृह्णता भुवनान्तरालविप्रकीर्णेन शाखासञ्चयेन प्रलयकालताण्डवप्रसारितभुजसहस्रमुडुपतिशेखरमिव विडम्बयितुमुद्यतः ।"

BHAṬṬA NĀRĀYAṆA

Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, the author of the drama Veṇīsaṁhāra, is assigned to the second half of the 7th century A.D. The Yogavāsiṣṭha has one line of a verse in imitation of a line in the Veṇīsaṁhāra.

Yogavāsiṣṭha, I. 16, 27.	Veṇīsaṁhāra, V. 27.
सकलगुणजयाशा यत्र बद्धा महद्भिः	सकलरिपुजयाशा यत्र बद्धा सुतैस्ते

This brings the date of the Yogavāsiṣṭha to a period subsequent to the second half of the 7th century.

BHARTṚHARI

Bhartṛhari died, according to Itsing, about A.D. 651. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri gives his date as A.D. 591-651.[1] The Yogavāsiṣṭha has passages reminding us of Bhartṛhari's Śatakas. Dr. Atreya points out on pp. 702-3 three parallels between the Yogavāsiṣṭha and the Vairāgya Śataka of Bhartṛhari and on pp. 704-7 some parallels between the Yogavāsiṣṭha and the Vākyapadīya of Bhartṛhari. Some more Bhartṛhari-parallels can be pointed out.

In III. 111, 8 the Yogavāsiṣṭha uses the expression —स्वायत्तमेकान्तहितम्—which is found in the Nītiśataka (Śl. 7)

स्वायत्तमेकान्तहितं विधात्रा ।

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1. Introduction, Brahmasiddhi, Madras, p. lviii.

In V. 9, 38 the Yogavāsiṣṭha says—

विमूढाः कर्तुमुद्युक्ता ये हठाच्चेतसो जयम् ।
ते निबध्नन्ति नागेन्द्रमुन्मत्तं बिसतन्तुभिः ॥

which must be compared with Nītiśataka, Śl. 6

व्यालं बालमृणालतन्तुभिरसौ रोद्धुं समुज्जृम्भते ।

Nītiśataka 77—

इतः स्वपिति केशवः कुलमितस्तदीयद्विषाम् etc.

the whole verse, is reproduced by the Yogavāsiṣṭha. See Yogavāsiṣṭha, VIb. 115, 6, in the section on the description of manifold objects where the Yogavāsiṣṭha draws upon many poets.

Further, Yogavāsiṣṭha, VIa. 127, 39 and 40 remind us at once of some verses in the Nītiśataka showing the greater force of Fate and Destiny, Lalāṭalekha.

Dr. Atreya points out on p. 703 two passages in the Yogavāsiṣṭha which compare with the verse of Bhartṛhari,

दिक्कालाद्यनवच्छिन्नानन्तचिन्मात्रमूर्तये ।
स्वानुभूत्येकमानाय नमः शान्ताय तेजसे ॥

There is a third echo of this verse in Yogavāsiṣṭha VIa. 11, 85, स्वानुभूत्येकमात्रं यच्चिद्ब्रह्मास्मि तदव्ययम्. Dr. Atreya makes much of the fact that some manuscripts of an abridged Yagavāsiṣṭha read this verse as their Maṅgala Śloka. This verse is certainly Bhartṛhari's, and not the Yogavāsiṣṭha's. Somānanda wrote his Śivadṛṣṭi in the latter part of the 9th century. Bhartṛhari forms the subject of criticism in Chapter II of his Śivadṛṣṭi. After the criticism of the Śabda Brahman of Bhartṛhari, appears a criticism of Bhartṛhari's Advaita as embodied in a verse of Bhartṛhari's and this verse is

दिक्कालाद्यनवच्छिन्न- etc.

Every word and concept in this verse of Bhartṛhari—Svānubhūti, Kālādyanavaccheda, Śāntatejas and Cinmūrti—is examined by Somānanda. Thus the verse "Dikkāladyanavacchinna" is undoubtedly a verse of Bhartṛhari's. This would also remove the doubt lingering in some quarters that the three Śatakas (where this verse occurs) are not Bhartṛhari's work. Scribes must have added this verse at the beginning of some of the abridged Yogavāsiṣṭha manuscripts. It must be borne in

mind that this verse, in its entirety, is not found in the Yogavāsiṣṭha itself; it is not found, in entirety, in the abridged version of Abhinanda; it is found and that only in some manuscripts of one of the smaller abridgements. In a Madras Library manuscript, D. 1982, of Abhinanda's epitome, there is a similar scribe-added Maṅgala Śloka on Dakṣiṇāmūrti from some other source.

To the parallels between the Yogavāsiṣṭha and the Vākyapadīya collected by Dr. Atreya may be added Yogavāsiṣṭha, VIb. 54, 30:

अनादिनिधनं सत्यम्

and Yogavāsiṣṭha, VIb. 205, 22.

अनादिनिधनं ब्रह्म

which certainly are after the opening verse of the Vākyapadīya.

It is natural to conclude that the Yogavāsiṣṭha borrowed from Bhartṛhari, but Dr. Atreya is unable to come to this conclusion because of the fact that the Yogavāsiṣṭha knows nothing of Bhartṛhari's Śabda Brahman (p. 22 of his thesis). If the Yogavāsiṣṭha did not countenance Śabda Brahman, it was certainly at liberty to ignore it. Not being a polemical work, it was not interested in working up any refutation of the Śabda Brahman philosophy. This silence on the Śabda Brahman hardly proves the Yogavāsiṣṭha's priority to Bhartṛhari. The word and concept of Sphoṭa is as old as Patañjali; and why does it not occur in the Yogavāsiṣṭha even in an analogy or a simile?

KUMĀRILA

Kumārila came after Bhartṛhari. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri assigns him to A.D. 600-660.[1] Yogavāsiṣṭha III. 21, 41 runs—

विशुद्धज्ञानदेहार्हास्तथैते पद्मजादयः ।

It is not unlikely that the expression is taken by the Yogavāsiṣṭha from the opening verse of the Ślokavārttika. The Yogavāsiṣṭha uses again the same expression in VIb. 142, 25.

विशुद्धज्ञानदेहास्ते सर्वात्मानः सदा स्थिताः ।

MAṆḌANA

The Yogavāsiṣṭha has absorbed also the opening line of the Vibhramaviveka of Maṇḍana Miśra. Chapters 166-7 of VIb of

1. Introduction, Brahmasiddhi, p. lviii.

the Yogavāsiṣṭha speak of the Khyātis and here śloka 9 and śloka 1, first lines,

आत्मख्यातिरसत्ख्यातिरख्यातिः ख्यातिरन्यथा ।

are the same as the opening line of the Vibhramaviveka. Mm. S. Kuppuswami Sastri assigns Maṇḍana to A.D. 615-695.

BHAVABHŪTI

Dr. Atreya points out two verses in Bhavabhūti's Uttararāmacarita, III. 47 and VI. 6 and the passages in the Yogavāsiṣṭha corresponding to them on pp. 698-9 of his thesis. In addition to these passages I may point out two more. In VIb. 30, 7

तरत्तरङ्गो जलधिर्जलमेव यथाखिलम् ।

is another passage imitating Uttararāmacarita III. 47

सलिलमेव हि तत्समस्तम् ।

Yogavāsiṣṭha VIb. 115, 11:

कूजत्कुञ्जकठोरगह्वरनदीकत्कारवत्कीचक
स्तम्बाडम्बरमूकमौकुलिकुलः क्रौञ्चाभिधोऽयं गिरिः । etc.

is verse 29 of Act III of the Uttararāmacarita in full, but with a few small changes in the first line. It is hardly fair to suggest that Bhavabhūti lifted from the Yogavāsiṣṭha. It can also be borne in mind in this connection that Yogavāsiṣṭha VIb. chs. 115-119 form a section full of verses extracted from several poems.

King Yaśovarman who patronised Bhavabhūti reigned in the latter part of the seventh and the first part of the eighth Century A.D.[1] We may therefore assign Bhavabhūti to *c.* 700 A.D. Mm. S. Kuppuswami Sastri also gives A.D. 640-725 as the time of Bhavabhūti[2]. The Yogavāsiṣṭha has to be put later than this period.

ŚAṄKARA

Dr. Atreya notes many parallels between the Yogavāsiṣṭha and Śaṅkara's Vivekacūḍāmaṇi, Dakṣiṇāmūrti Stotra, Svātmanirūpaṇa, Ātmabodha, Śataślokī and Aparokṣānubhūti.

1. S.P. Pandit, Introduction to Gauḍavaho, p. xiv, II edn.
2. Introduction to the Brahmasiddhi, p. lviii.

On p. 680, Dr. Atreya quotes from the first verse of the Dakṣiṇāmūrti Stotra in which Śaṅkara compares the world to a city seen in a mirror. And the parallels to this which Dr. Atreya points out from the Yogavāsiṣṭha, VIb. 22, 27 and III, 44, 20 are hardly satisfactory. A real parallel occurs in Yogavāsiṣṭha III. 80, 40, where the minister replies to the Rākṣasī's question—

महानगरनिर्माणं मुकुरेऽन्तरिवामले.

Besides this, the simile of the tree latent in the seed found in the Dakṣiṇāmūrti Stotra

बीजस्यान्तरिवाङ्कुरो जगदिदम्

is frequently used by the Yogavāsiṣṭha, as for instance in III. 81, 83.

बीजस्यान्तस्तरुरिव ब्रह्मणोऽन्तःस्थितं जगत् ।

ibid., śl. 95, बीजेऽन्तर्वृक्षविस्तारः and VIb. 18, 5. बीजस्यान्तरिव द्रुमः ।

One of the minor works ascribed to Śaṅkara is the Nirguṇa-mānasapūjā, otherwise called Parāpūjā. The theme of this piece appears in Yogavāsiṣṭha, VIa. 38, 21, and as if reminding us that he was having in mind Śaṅkara's minor work, Parāpūjā, the author of the Yogavāsiṣṭha uses here the words Parāpūjā themselves: पूजैवैष परा स्मृता.

One of the grounds on which Dr. Atreya distinguishes the attitude of the Yogavāsiṣṭha from that of Bhartṛhari and Śaṅkara is that while the Yogavāsiṣṭha swears by Anubhava, Bhartṛhari clings to Āgama in his Vākyapadīya and Śaṅkara bases himself on the Vedāntas (pp. 16 and 703 of his thesis). It has heen pointed out already that the verse दिक्कालाद्यनवच्छिन्न etc. which posits 'Anubhūti' as the only 'Māna' is a verse of Bhartṛhari. In the Vākyapadīya on the glorification of Āgama in which Dr. Atreya takes stand, the subject dealt with is Vyākaraṇa and greater emphasis on śāstra is pertinent there. That any believer in Brahmajñāna thought of anything other than one's own 'Anubhava' as the final Pramāṇa will be a strange observation. Śaṅkara expressly states 'Anubhava' as the final proof in a passage in his Sūtrabhāṣya:

"न धर्मजिज्ञासायामिव श्रुत्यादय एव प्रमाणं ब्रह्मजिज्ञासायाम् । किन्तु श्रुत्यादयोऽनुभवादयश्च यथासंभवमिह प्रमाणम् । अनुभवावसानत्वाद् भूतवस्तु-विषयत्वाच्च ब्रह्मज्ञानस्य । I. 1. 2.

Further, the Yogavāsiṣṭha says in III. 21, 35—

अयं प्रपञ्चो मिथ्यैव सत्यं ब्रह्माहमद्वयम् ।

अत्र प्रमाणं वेदान्ता गुरवोऽनुभवस्तथा ॥

This verse in Sarasvatī's teaching to the lady Līlā is taken in entirety from Śaṅkara's minor work Brahmānucintana (Śaṅkara's Works, Vani Vilas Edition, Vol. XVI, p. 84). Śaṅkara also emphasises Anubhava and the Yogavāsiṣṭha also accepts the Vedāntas. Again we find the Yogavāsiṣṭha saying that one must try to verify and find the same Truth in the Śāstra, in the preceptor's words and in one's own Anubhava.

स्वानुभूतेश्च शास्त्रस्य गुरोश्चैवैकवाक्यता । Y. V. II. 13. 11.

Again, Yogavāsiṣṭha, VIa. 98, 22-23 give the Pramāṇas as the Śāstras, Anubhava, Veda and Loka.[1]

Further, Yogavāsiṣṭha, V. 71, 19 and 31 cannot but remind us of the opening sentence of Śaṅkara's Sūtrabhāṣya. The verses run:

छायातपप्रसरयोः प्रकाशतमसोर्यथा ।

न संभवति संबन्धस्तथा वै देहदेहिनोः ॥

यथा तेजस्तिमिरयोर्न संबन्धो न तुल्यता ।

अत्यन्तभिन्नयो राम तथैवात्मशरीरयोः ॥

These two verses remind us not only of the opening passage of the Sūtrabhāṣya of Śaṅkara, but may also remind us of the additional illustration of 'Chāyātapa' used in this context by Padmapāda in his Pañcapādikā. In fact the whole context from

1. A good deal is common between the Y. V. and the Sarvavedāntasiddāntasārasaṅgraha ascribed to Śaṅkara. Yogavāsiṣṭha, III. 9, 4-9 and 13, Jīvanmuktalakṣaṇa, are S. V. S. S. S. p. 253-14 (Vani Vilas edition of Works, Vol. 15); Yogavāsiṣṭha III. 9, 14 is S. V. S. S. S. 979 (p. 254); the seven jñānabhūmis in Yogavāsiṣṭha III. 118 5-6 and 8-15 are S. V. S. S. S. 939-948. Again Yogavāsiṣṭha, V. 7, 16 and 18-19 and 21 form S. V. S. S. S. 980-982 (pp. 254-255). The S. V. S. S. S. may not be a work of Śaṅkara.

The Yogavāsiṣṭha has one verse in common with the Laghuvākyavṛtti ascribed to Śaṅkara (Śl. 17) तच्चिन्तनं तत्कथनं etc. describing Abhyāsa. This verse occurs in Yogavāsiṣṭha III. 22 as Śl. 24.

Śl. 18 to 32 reminds one strongly of the opening passage of the Sūtrabhāṣya of Śaṅkara. There is yet another passage in the Yogavāsiṣṭha where there is an unmistakable reference to the opening expression of Śaṅkara's Brahmasūtrabhāṣya. The Yogavāsiṣṭha says in II. 17, 16-17 while giving a summary of the contents of each book

" * जगदिदम् * सास्मद्युष्मत्सविस्तारम् * "

Dr. Atreya argues that the Yagavāṣiṣṭha is earlier than Śaṅkara because some of Śaṅkara's concepts are not to be found in the Yogavāsiṣṭha. This argument is similar to the one he uses to prove the priority of the Yogavāsiṣṭha to Bhartṛhari. The Yogavāsiṣṭha advocates an uncompromising type of Advaita and holds the Dṛṣṭisṛṣṭi view, and this necessitates its own method of treatment in which much stress cannot be laid on two kinds or three kinds of Sattā etc. The concept of Adhyāsa is older than Śaṅkara.[1] And, the Yogavāsiṣṭha, if it wanted to refer to it, might have done so on the basis of other sources. Certainly the Yogavāsiṣṭha does not belittle the Sādhanas, though it does not adopt the phrase Sādhanacatuṣṭaya. When the Yogavāsiṣṭha assigns two chapters to 'Vairāgya' and 'Mumukṣutva', what does it emphasise except Śaṅkara's इहामुत्रफलभोगविराग and मुमुक्षुत्व ? Śama, Santoṣa, etc. are all dealt with in the Mumukṣuvyavahāra-prakaraṇa.

ĀNANDAVARDHANA

This great literary critic who wrote the Dhvanyāloka, adorned the court of Avantivarman in Kāṣmir, 855-884 A.D. Śaṅkara was certainly not so late as that, and the author of the Yogavāsiṣṭha, an enthusiastic student of Kāvya and Alaṁkāra, shows his acquaintance with the Dhvani theory as Ānanda propounded it in his Dhvanyāloka, and what is more, reproduces one of Ānanda's own verses quoted by him in his Dhvanyāloka, with some changes as usual.

Yogavāsiṣṭha, VIb. 197, 15-17 say that in śāstras, Trivarga is taught directly, but Brahmaprāpti is 'Avācya' and is to be had as the 'Dhvanyamāna-artha', and this Dhvani is something distinct from and excelling the expressed and the obvious import, even as the Lāvaṇya of woman which is distinct from and excels

1. The concept is used by the Buddhists. Stcherbatsky, Buddhistic Logic, II, p. 409.

her body and its build. The presence here of the simile of the 'Lāvaṇya of women' clinches the reference as one to Ānandavardhana and his Dhvanyāloka.

वर्गत्रयोपदेशो हि शास्त्रादिष्वस्ति राघव ।
ब्रह्मप्राप्तिस्त्ववाच्यत्वान्नास्ति तच्छासनेष्वपि ॥
केवलं सर्ववाक्यार्थैर्ध्वन्यमानावगम्यते ।
कालश्रीः प्रसवेनेव स्वयं स्वानुभवेन सा ॥
सर्वार्थातिगतं शास्त्रे विद्यते ब्रह्मवेदनम् ।
सर्वगातिगतं (सर्वगात्रातिगं)[1] स्वच्छं लावण्यमिव योषिति ॥

The last verse especially is based explicitly on the Dhvanyāloka, I. 4.

प्रतीयमानं पुनरन्यदेव वस्त्वस्ति वाणीषु महाकवीनाम् ।
यत्तत्प्रसिद्धावयवातिरिक्तं विभाति लावण्यमिवाङ्गनानाम् ॥

Ch. 190 of VIb of the Yogavāsiṣṭha closes with the verse—

या व्यापारवती रसाद् रसविदां काचित्कवीनां नवा
दृष्टिर्या परिनिष्ठितार्थविषयोन्मेषा च वैपश्चिती ।
ते द्वे अप्यवलम्ब्य विश्वमखिलं निर्वर्णितं निर्वृतं
यावद् दृष्टिदशो न सन्ति कलिता नो शून्यता नो भ्रमः ॥

Except for the last line and a few alterations in the others, this is identical with Ānanda's own verse—

या व्यापारवती रसान् रसयितुं etc.

quoted by him on p. 227 of his Dhvanyāloka, K. M. edn. It is clearly impossible for Dr. Atreya to suggest even here that the Yogavāsiṣṭha is the borrowed.[2]

1. The text requires this correction. Ānandabodha muddles with the wrong text before him.

There are numerous instances where the text of the Yogavāsiṣṭha in the Nirnaya Sagar edition needs similar correction.

2. (*a*) The commentator on the Nāṭya Śāstra and Bhāmaha's Kāvyālaṅkāra and the author of the Kāvyālaṅkārasārasaṅgraha, Udbhaṭa, was in the court of Jayāpīḍa, 779-813 A.D. And it is from his time that orthodox Alaṁkāra writers began to speak of *nine rasas* including the Śānta. The Yogavāsiṣṭha says in VIb. 41, 6.

RĀJAŚEKHARA

The poet, dramatist and critic, Rājaśekhara, cites Ānandavardhana in his Kāvyamīmāṁsā. He is assigned to A.D. 880-920. The Yogavāsiṣṭha shows its acquaintance with Rājaśekhara's Viddhasālabhañjikā and the Kāvyamīmāṁsā.

रसभावविकाराढ्यं नृत्यन्त्यभिनयैर्नवैः ।

and it is possible that there is a reference by double entendre here to 'new' and 'nine'. This also would prevent such an early date for the Yogavāsiṣṭha as proposed by Dr. Atreya.

(*b*) In VIa 128, Śloka 68 there is a rèsume of the story of the Rāmāyaṇa. Ślokas 71-72 here run thus:—

सीताहरणदौर्गत्यच्छलेन भुवि शोच्यताम् ।
दर्शयिष्यति सर्वेषां रावणादिवधादपि ॥
स्त्रीसङ्गिनामथास्वास्थ्यम् — ॥

This surely reminds us of a line in the Bhāgavata, in the chapter in which that Purāṇa gives a rèsume of the Rāmayāṇa:

रक्षोऽधमेन वृकवद्विपिनेऽसमक्षम् * * स्त्रीसङ्गिनां गतिमिति प्रथयंश्चचार ॥
IX. 10. 11.

But since we are yet to know of any *definite* evidence bearing on the earlier limit to the date of the Bhāgavata, this datum is of little use in our attempts to fix the limits to the date of the Yogavāsiṣṭha.

(*c*) Yogavāsiṣṭha. VIa. 12, 2. 11.

तनुं त्यजतु वा तीर्थे श्वपचस्य गृहेऽपि वा । etc.

is an echo of the Parmārthasāra, TSS edition. Śloka 81. There is a similar verse (Anuṣṭubh) in the Dattātreya Gītā also, I. 69. Of these two works, definite dates are not known.

(*d*) The author of the Yogavāsiṣṭha is a slave of the word Camatkāra or Camatkṛti; there is hardly any canto or page where expressions like Cit-camatkāra or Cit-camatkṛti do not occur. The history of this word also points to a period later than Ānandavardhana.

(*e*) The descriptive passages of the Yogavāsiṣṭha are full of all sorts of onomatopoeic words like

गुडगुडारव, घुमुघुम, चटच्चटत्, पचपचाशब्द, कुचुकुचु, छमिच्छमि, धगद्धगद्, रटरटारव, कटकटारव, पटपटाशब्द.

Such a vocabulary is not common in the age of Sanskrit literature prior to Bāṇa and Bhavabhūti; even in these writers, there is not such a spate of these expressions as in the Yogavāsiṣṭha. The style revelling in these words must be much later than Bāṇa.

Yogavāsiṣṭha, III. 29, 47 says:—

शिलाजठरनिष्पन्दं मुष्टिग्राह्यं तमः कुतः ।

This fancy of pitch darkness as capable of being seized by hand मुष्टिग्राह्यं तमः— is taken from a verse of Rājaśekhara in his Viddhasālabhañjikā, III. 6.

तनुलग्ना इव ककुभः क्ष्मावलयं चरणचारमात्रमिव ।
दिवमिव चालिकदघ्नीं मुष्टिग्राह्यं तमः कुरुते ॥

This verse is quoted by Rājaśekhara in his Kāvyamīmāṁsā also, p. 80, G. O. S. II edn., where fancied descriptions of darkness etc. are given.

On p. 59 of his Kāvyamīmāṁsā (II edn), Rājaśekhara quotes a verse—

तत्तावदेव शशिनः * * *
इन्दोः सिताभ्रशकलस्य च को विशेषः ।

He follows it up by another verse which is its adaptation,[1] with its last line intact. Now, the Yogavāsiṣṭha must have seen this context in the Kāvyamīmāṁsā, for in VIb. 115, 46 it turns off its own 'Samasyāpūrti' of the same last line

इन्दोः सिताभ्रशकलस्य च को विशेषः ।

This study brings the date of the Yogavāsiṣṭha to a period subsequent to *c.* A.D. 900. In the chapters describing several objects like mountains, rivers, towns, sun, moon, etc., in VIb (Chs. 115-119), there are Jātis Anyāpadeśas and Utprekṣās, some of which we are able to feel as others' verses, but these others, we are not able to put our finger on. Yogavāsiṣṭha, VIb. 116, 80 in this section, भ्रातः कोकिल etc. an Anyāpadeśa on Kokila, is found anonymously both in the Śārṅgadharapaddhati and Subhāṣitāvalī.

The evidence of the Gītā-text used by the Yogavāsiṣṭha.

In a paper entitled 'The Yogavāsiṣṭha and the Bhagavad Gītā and the place of origin of the Yogavāsiṣṭha' published in

1. According to Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvalī (verse 555) this is a verse of one Prakāśadatta; but according to the Saduktikarṇāmṛta of Śrīdharadāsa, it is a verse of one Madhukūṭa. Of both these names, we possess little information.

the Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. XIII. pp. 73-82, I pointed out that the Yogavāsiṣṭha, which uses the Gītā extensively, uses a text of the Gītā which is the Kasmirian version crossed by the vulgate. According to Dr. Schrader, "the vulgate of the Bhagavad Gītā was still unknown in Kasmir by the end of the tenth century." (p. 8, The Kasmirian Recension of the Bhagavad Gītā). On p. 2, *ibid*, Schrader says that the vulgate intruded into Kasmir and made the Kasmir text slowly become extinct in the 14th century, and that in the 12th century, Yogarāja quotes the vulgate. Since the currency of the Kasmirian text is unknown outside Kasmir and since the Yogavāsiṣṭha knows that text, the place where the Yogavāsiṣṭha was produced must be Kasmir. And since the Kasmir text known to the Yogavāsiṣṭha already shows the inroads of the vulgate, it follows that the Yogavāsiṣṭha was compiled after the 10th century A.D. This brings the upper limit down, by a century.

The late Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Sastri also opined that the Yogavāsiṣṭha must have been composed about the time to which I have been dragging it down all along. He says on p. xxviii of the Introduction to the Purāṇa Volume (V) of his Catalogues of the manuscripts in the Royal Asiatic Society, Bengal, that the Yogavāsiṣṭha "speaks of the invasions of the eastern regions by the king of Karṇāṭa which event took place in 1023..."

Scholars may spring some objections to this view of the earlier limit to the date of the Yogavāsiṣṭha. Mr. Divanji says on p. 26 of his article on the Yogavāsiṣṭha in the Proceedings of the VII All-India Oriental Conference that the Yogavāsiṣṭha is earlier than *c.* 900 A.D., the date of Sarvajñātman, who Mr. Divanji says, presupposes the Yogavāsiṣṭha in his Saṁkeṣepaśārīraka, II. 182. This point Mr. Divanji has set forth in detail on p. lxxxix of the Introduction to his edition of the Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha, in the Gaekward Oriental Series. This is a mistake. Saṁkṣepaśārīraka, II. 182

सङ्कल्पपूर्वकमभूद्रघुनन्दनस्य

etc., does not refer to the story forming the basis of the Yogavāsiṣṭha, but it refers to an incident described by Vālmīki towards the end of the Yuddhakāṇḍa of his Rāmāyaṇa. After the killing of Rāvaṇa, the gods extol Rāma as God, but Rāma affirms that he is but a mortal, the son of Daśaratha:

आत्मानं मानुषं मन्ये रामं दशरथात्मजम् ।

But Brahman now sings an eulogy on Rāma reminding him of his divinity, on hearing which Rāma nods assent. This is the *Brahma-upadeśa* referred to by Sarvajñātman.

Or Sarvajñātman might be referring here to the still later context of Rāma sorrowing at the disappearance of Sītā into the womb of Earth and Brahman again reminding Rāma of his divinity and the impropriety of the sorrow. (Uttarakāṇḍa, 98, śl. 11 ff).

Another natural objection is the date of the Abhinanda who abridged the Yogavāsiṣṭha. All the scholars are sure, in their observations on the date of the Yogavāsiṣṭha, on this one point, namely, that a Gauḍa Abhinanda of Kashmir abridged the Yogavāsiṣṭha and this Abhinanda is the author of the Kādambarīkathāsāra, son of Bhaṭṭa Jayanta, and who flourished in the first half of the 9th century A.D. This date is taken by scholars as the later limit to the date of the Yogavāsiṣṭha.

We know of two Gauḍa Abhinandas. One of them is the author of the Rāmacarita, patronised by Hāravarṣa Yuvarāja. The author of the Laghu Yogavāsiṣṭha cannot be this Abhinanda, son of Śatānanda. For his time is *c.* 900 A.D. and he is definitely an elder contemporary of Rājaśekhara, if not actually earlier.[1] Not only does Soḍḍala mention him before Rājaśekhara, but also if Saduktikarṇāmṛta[2], p. 194, सौजन्याङ्कुर etc., a verse of an Abhinanda on Rājaśekhara, is a verse of this Abhinanda, Rajaśekhara must have been a younger contemporary of Abhinanda.[3] As I have tried to place the Yogavāsiṣṭha after Rājaśekhara, it is not possible that this Abhinanda made the saṅgraha of the Yogavāsiṣṭha.

Besides, there is direct evidence to prove that the Yogavāsiṣṭha was produced after the time of Abhinanda, the author of the Rāmacarita. In VIa. 128. 81-94, the Yogavāsiṣṭha has a hymn on Rāma as God which is, for the most part, reproduction from Abhinanda's Rāmacarita, IX, Śls. 8-66, with omissions and occassional changes.

1. *See* Introduction, Rāmacarita, G. O. S., p. xxi.
2. Punjab Oriental Series.
3. *See* Introduction, Sūktimuktāvalī, G.O.S., p. 15.

Y.V. VIa. 128.		Rāmacarita IX.	
Śl. 81.	अत्रैव कुरु विश्वास- मयं स पुरुषः परः । विश्वार्थममिताम्भोधि- गम्भीरागमगोचरः ॥[1]	Śl. 8.	कुमार कुरु विश्वास- मयं स परमः पुमान् । विश्वार्थमुत्थितोऽम्भोधे- गम्भीरागमगोचरः ॥
82. b.	समः श्रीवत्सलाञ्छनः	9. b.	अयं श्रीवत्सलाञ्छनः ।
,, d.	प्रदाता सुप्रसादितः	,, d.	Same.
83. a-b.	अयं निहन्ति[2] कुपितः सृजत्ययमसत्सकान्[3]	10. a-b.	अयं निहन्त्यकुपितः सृजत्ययमनुत्सुकः ।
84.	अयं व्युत्क्रान्त etc. (wrong readings in second quarter)	14.	Same.
85. c-d.	क्वचित् प्रणीतप्रकृतिः क्वचित्तत्स्थः पुमानयम्	15. c-d.	क्वचित् प्रलीनप्रकृतिः प्रकृतिस्थः पुमानयम्
86. a-b.	अयं त्रयीमयो देवः त्रैगुण्यगहनातिगः	16. c-d.	Same.
86. c-d.	जयत्यङ्गैरयं षड्भिः वेदात्मा पुरुषोऽद्भुतः	17. c-d.	Same.
87.	अयं चतुर्बाहुः etc. (with some changes)	18.	Same.
88.	अजोऽयं जायते योगात् etc. (with some changes)	20.	Same.
89.	विजयो विक्रमेणेव etc.	29.	Same.

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1. In the third quarter of the Y. V. verse, restoration of the quarter as it is in the Rāmacarita would seem to be necessary. Ānandabodha, of course, has the wrong reading before him.

2. Wrong reading; for correct reading see the Rāmacarita.

3. Wrong reading; see the Rāmacarita for the correct reading. Ānandabodha has the wrong reading and, as usual, muddles.

90.	अयं दशरथो धन्यः etc. (with some changes)	50.	Same.
91.	हा स्वर्गमसुना शून्यम् etc. (with some changes)	51.	Same.
92. a-b.	राम इत्यवतीर्णोऽयम् etc.	57. a-b.	Same.
93.	निगृहीतेन्द्रियग्रामाः etc.	65.	Same.
94. a-b.	रघोरघोच्छेदकारः etc.	66. c-d.	Same.

The other Abhinanda is the son of Bhaṭṭa Jayanta and the author of the Kādambarīkathāsāra. It is unhappy that Dr. Atreya makes these two Abhinandas identical on p. 38 of his thesis. This Abhinanda, son of Jayanta, was also of the same time as the other Abhinanda, and it is not easy to take him either as the author of the Laghu Yogavāsiṣṭha. I have tried to place the Yogavāsiṣṭha after Rajaśekhara, and even after the end of the 10th century. The identity of the Abhinanda who epitomised the Yogavāsiṣṭha must be left an open question. In all probability, he is a third and later Abhinanda, and into this question let me enter some other time.

What is the lower limit to the date of the Yogavāsiṣṭha is a question which I can answer here. Scholars have up till now pointed out Vidyāraṇya as the earliest to cite the Yogavāsiṣṭha. We can take up the lower limit to the date of the Yogavāsiṣṭha by a century. The Sūktimuktāvalī[1] was compiled by Vaidya Bhānu for Jalhaṇa in A.D. 1258. On pp. 412, 417, 439, 448, and 451 of this anthology, the Yogavāsiṣṭha is extracted.

Therefore the date of the *text of the Yogavāsiṣṭha as we have it in the Nirnaya Sagar Press edition in two volumes* must therefore be between the 11th and the middle of the 13th century.

1. G.O.S. edn. The Śārṅgadharapaddhati (A.D. 1363) also quotes from the Yogavāsiṣṭha. *See* verses 4111, 4117-4122, 4142-3, 4157, 4196-4227, 4233-4257, 4342-4346.

THE DATE OF THE KĀYASTHA PARABHŪ-DHARMĀDARŚA OF NĪLAKAṆṬHA SŪRI AND IDENTIFICATION OF ITS AUTHOR IN CONTEMPORARY RECORDS

By

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Aufrecht[1] mentions some works about the Parabhūs[2] among which he mentions a work called *Parabhū-prakaraṇa* by one

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1. *Cata. Catalo. I, p. 324*—"परभूजातिनिर्णय, on the origin of a caste called परभू—BP. 299. परभूप्रकरण by नीलकण्ठसूरि—Khn. 76, and by बाबदेव अटले—Khn. 76." *II, 72*—"परभूप्रकरण on the origin and tenets of the परभू caste descended from the Kāyasthas written under king Śāhurāj, son of Śambhurāj of the Bhonsla family. The anonymous author refers to Babdeva Āṭale. (q.v.) L. 4198."

The B. O. R. Institute (Limaye Collection acquired in 1938) contains a MS. called परभूप्रकरण (folios 16). In the Govt. MSS. Library there is another MS. of परभूप्रकरण No. 567 of 1883-84 acquired by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar from the Maratha country.

2. *Vide* article on प्रभु in the महाराष्ट्रीयज्ञानकोश (by S. V. Ketkar) Vol. XVII, (1925) पृ.242-248. The total population of this Kāyastha Prabhu caste in the whole of India may come to about 30,000. The Mahārāṣṭra historian Rajwade (*Khaṇḍa* VI) records in all 9 *grāmaṇyas* about the Prabhu caste. Dates of some of these disputes:—*Śaka* 1391 (A. D. *1469*) ; *Śaka* 1591 (A. D. *1669*) ; *Śaka* 1597 (A. D. *1675*) ; *Śaka* 1669 (A. D. *1747*) ; *Śaka* 1714 (A. D. *1792*) ; *Śaka* 1745 (A. D. *1823*).

The adopted son of Nīlakaṇṭha Sūri Thatte was married to the daughter (Tai) of Sardār Bālāji Nārāyaṇ Nātū in A. D. *1818*. (*Vide* p. 123 of *Thatte Kula-vṛttānta*, Poona, 1936.) This Sardār Bālājipant Nātū was associated with the *Kāyastha Prabhu* dispute of Śaka 1745 (=A. D. *1823*). It is possible to suppose that Nīlakaṇṭha Sūri composed his कायस्थ-परभूधर्मादर्श in connection with the dispute of *1823* A. D. to vindicate his relative's (Bālājipant's) position against the Kāyastha Prabhus. If this inference is correct the *date of* कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श *must lie between A. D. 1823 and A. D. 1827*, the date of the MS. of this work.

Nīlakaṇṭha Sūri, of which he records only one MS. *viz.*, "Khn 76." Prof. P. V. Kane also mentions the work "परभूप्रकरण by Nīlakaṇṭha Sūri" in his *History of Dharma Śāstra*[1] along with other works regarding the Parabhu caste and the Kāyasthas.[2] I am not aware if Aufrecht or Prof. Kane had examined an actual MS. of Nīlakaṇṭha Sūri's work which they have designated "परभूप्रकरण." Recently I came across a MS.[3] of Nīlakaṇṭha Sūri's work called "कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श". I have no doubt that this work is identical with the परभूप्रकरण of Nīlakaṇṭha Sūri mentioned by Aufrecht and Kane. I propose, therefore, to describe it and present some data gathered from it with a view to study and

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1. Vol. I (B. O. R. Institute, Poona, 1930), p. 577—"परभूजातिनिर्णय. परभूप्रकरण by नीलकण्ठसूरि. परभूप्रकरण by बाबदेव अटले.

परभूप्रकरण by गोविन्दराय (Mitra's Notices, X, p. 296). About 1740-49 A.D. during the reign of Shahu, grandson of Shivaji. When Balaji Bajirao was Peshwa गोविन्दराय was राजलेखक and a favourite of Shahu, refers to बाबदेव अटले as a hypocrite and a Karhāḍā Brahmin."

2. *Ibid*, p. 528—Works about Kāyasthas:—"कायस्थधर्मप्रदीप or -प्रकाश by विश्वेश्वर alias गागाभट्ट composed about 1647 A. D.

कायस्थपद्धति by विश्वेश्वर—Printed at Bombay 1873, same as कायस्थधर्मप्रदीप. Baroda Oriental Institute MS. is dated *1727* (1670-71 A. D.). Ujjain MS. No. 1097 is dated A. D. *1743* (*Vide* List of 1936, p. 30). कायस्थक्षत्रियत्वद्रुमदलनकुठार by लक्ष्मीनारायणपण्डित. कायस्थतत्त्व. कायस्थनिर्णय. कायस्थविचार. कायस्थोत्पत्ति by गङ्गाधर."

The Govt. MSS. Library (B. O. R. I.) has a MS. of कायस्थनिर्णय (No. 522 of 1883-84).

3. In the Limaye Collection of MSS. acquired by the B. O. R Institute in 1938 from Mr. Sambhurao Govind Limaye of Ashte (Dist. Satara), a second copy of this work is also found and is dated A. D. 1827. It is copied by जयदेव son of सखो अनन्त लिमये as the following colophon shows:—*Folio 12*—"शके १७४७ सर्वजित् संवत्सरे लिमयोपाख्यदादाख्य सूनुना जयदेवाख्येन लिखितोऽयं कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्शः ॥"

record some historical information gathered from contemporary available records[1] about the date of the author and his literary activity.

The Limaye MS. of कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श (folios 8) contains the following references to Persons, Places, Works etc.:—

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1. Some of these records are found in the *History of the Thatte Family* (*Thatte Kula-vṛttānta*) by P. V. Thatte and V. N. Thatte, Poona, 1936—*Vide* pp. 6-25 which contain historical documents about the Thatte family dated, A. D. 1718, 1735, 1743, 1748, 1767, 1769, 1770, 1773, 1775, 1777, 1781, 1782, 1783, 1784, 1787, 1795, 1796, 1798, 1807, 1808, 1813, 1816, 1818, 1830, 1831, 1838, 1858. In all 36 documents are recorded. The author of the कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श is identical with नीलकण्ठ विनायक थथे or थत्ते mentioned in some of the above mentioned documents. His descendants are still living in Poona (*Vide* pp. 52-53). A brief genealogy of Nīlakaṇṭha Sūri may be recorded here:—

केशव—गोपाळ—विश्वनाथ—नारायण—विनायक—नीलकण्ठशास्त्री

			(A.D. 1775 ..1783)	(A.D. 1772)	(Died 1834 A. D.)

In *Document No. 9* dated *20th October 1775* our author's grand-father is referred to as follows:—

"वे. रा. नारायेणभट बिन विस्वनाथभट ईबिन गोपाळभट उपनाम थथे गोभौ शाण्डिल्य सूत्र अस्वलायेन जोतिषी व उपाध्ये मौजे बिवली ता हवेली हमजाबाद ता अजनवेला हाली वास्तव्य कसवे पुणें".

Our author's father विनायकभट was a फडणीस of शिरेपरगणा in the Karnāṭak (*Document No. 10* dated *A. D. 1777*). He is mentioned in *Document No. 30* of *A. D. 1816*. The marriage of our author's adopted son is referred to in *Document No. 31* of *A. D. 1818* (from Bālāji Nārāyan Nātū to Mount Stuart Elphinstone). *Document No. 32* dated *17th January 1830* records the grant (of village कोलधर to our author "नीलकण्ठशास्त्री विनायकभट थथे") from Raghoji Āngre. *Document No. 33* dated *7th January 1831* records a grant of land to our author. *Document No. 34* dated *26th July 1838* records a grant of land to our author's son नारायणशास्त्री नीलकण्ठशास्त्री थथे. This नारायणशास्त्री was the eldest son of नीलकण्ठ's cousin भोरशास्त्री. नारायण was adopted as son in A. D. 1815 by नीलकण्ठ as he had no issue (p. 123 of *Thatte History*).

आर्यावर्त्त, 7
उद्योत (=दिनकरोद्योत), 7
(Begun by दिनकर and finished by गागाभट्ट)
कमलाकर, 1, 2, 4, 7
काम्बोज, 4, काम्बोजाः, 4
कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श, 1, 7
कायस्थपरभूधर्माः,[1] 1
कायस्थप्रदीप, 6
कायस्थोत्पत्ति, 2
कार्तवीर्य, 1
काश्यपगोत्र, 4, 6
गागाभट्ट[2], 6, 7; गागाभट्टीय, 4
गान्धारी 4,
गुह, 1
चन्द्रसेन[3], 3, 5, 7
चान्द्रसेनीयाः, 4, 6
चान्द्रसेनीया कायस्थाः, 6
चित्रगुप्त, 2, 4, 5, 6

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1. *Vide* article on कायस्थ in the महाराष्ट्रीय ज्ञानकोश, Vol. X, (क-३८६ to ३९२). The term कायस्थ is found in a Malwa inscription of A. D. 738-39. In an inscription of A. D. 987, the term कायस्थ is used. In the Sivalik Stone pillar inscription at Delhi of A.D. 1184 the term कायस्थ has been used as a caste-name.

2. Viśveśvara alias गागाभट of Benares composed a work called शिवार्कोदय, *Vide* Peterson's *Cata. of Ulwar* MSS. pp. 37-38) by order of Shivaji ("तस्याज्ञया छत्रपतेः शिवस्य") Vide pp. 223-225 of the शिवचारितप्रदीप (B. I. S. Mandal, Poona, 1925). Aufrecht (C. C. II, 139) states that Gāgābhaṭṭa composed in Śaka 1603 (A.D. *1681*) a work called समयनय on *dharma* for Shivaji's son Sambhāji and a MS. of this work is at Florence (Italy). He officiated at the Coronation of Shivaji in A. D. 1674. MS. No. 9670 in Baroda Ori. Institute shows that Gāgābhaṭṭa composed his कायस्थधर्मप्रदीप in Śaka 1599=A. D. *1677* (*Vide* Kane: His. of Dh.I. p. 742). The Marathi Bakhar शिवदिग्विजय (Baroda, 1895) describes गागाभट्ट as "महासमर्थब्राह्मण, तेजोराशी, तपोराशी, अपरसूर्य, साक्षात् वेदो नारायण, महाविद्वान् (p. 410). *Vide* p. 311 of मध्ययुगीन चरित्रकोश (1937).

3. According to *Sahyādri Khaṇḍa* of the *Skandapurāṇa* the Cāndrasenīya Kāyasthas originated from a Kṣattriya king चन्द्रसेन who was killed by Paraśurāma. The widow of चन्द्रसेन who was pregnant at the death of her husband went to the hermitage of

चैत्रगुप्तकायस्थाः,[1] 5
चैत्रगुप्ताः, 6
जातिविवेक,[2] 7
त्र्यम्बक (the guru of the author नीलकण्ठ विनायक थत्ते), 1
थत्ते (उपनाम), 1, 7
दाल्भ्य, 2, 4
दाल्भ्यगोभ, 7
दाल्भ्यपुर,[3] 1
दाल्भ्यमुनि, 1, 6
दाल्भ्याश्रम,[4] 1, 2, 3, 5
दाल्भी, 7

दाल्भ्य sage. Paraśurāma agreed not to molest her on condition that this would-be son of चन्द्रसेन should not behave as a Kṣattriya. The sage agreed to this condition and the son born of the widow of चन्द्रसेन was brought up by the sage and he pursued the profession of a scribe. The descendants of this son of चन्द्रसेन came to be called Cāndrasenīya Kāyasthas.

1. खण्डो बल्लाळ जिटणीस who accompanied Rajarām Chatrapati to Jinji in A. D. 1690 was a चैत्रगुप्तकायस्थ. Keśava Paṇḍit refers to him as follows in verse 22 of Sarga IV of his राजाराजचरितः—

"खण्डोबल्लाळमुख्याश्च कायस्थाश्चित्रगुपाजाः ।
चन्द्रसेनान्वयाश्चान्ये श्रीदाल्भ्यकृतगोपनाः ॥ २२ ॥"

2. There are several works of this title (*Vide* Kane. *His. of* Dh. I, 548) :—

(1) जातिविवेक m. in शूद्राचारशिरोमणि of शेषकृष्ण and in नृसिंहप्रसाद of दलपतिराय; (2) जातिविवेक by कृष्णगोविन्द पण्डित (3) जातिविवेक by त्र्यम्बक ; (4) जातिविवेक by नारायणभट्ट (5) जातिविवेक by पराशर ; (6) जातिविवेक by रघुनाथ ; (7) जातिविवेक by विश्वनाथ ; (8) जातिविवेक by विश्वेश्वरभट्ट (probably same as first part of कायस्थधर्मप्रदीप). (9) जातिविवेक by व्यासगोपीनाथकवि of वसिष्ठगोत्र son of राईधर grandson of विश्वनाथ of प्रत्यण्डपुर (I. O. MS. is dated Śaka 1564=A. D. *1642*).

3. Cf. दाल्भ्यपुर (=दाभोळ in South Konkon) mentioned by रघुनाथ in his मुहूर्तमाला composed in A. D. *1660*. रघुनाथ was a Chittravan Brahmin of *Śāṇḍilyagotra* and hailed from पातुशेत to the South of Dabhol or *Dālbhyapura* (Vide *History of Indian Astronomy* by S. B. Dikshit, Poona, 1896). Raghunātha's grandfather's name was केशव while his father's name was नृसिंह who settled at Benares. नृसिंह obtained the title ज्योतिर्वित्सरस from Emperor Akbar when he conquered the Āsīrgaḍh fort (A. D. *1599*) *Vide* A. S. B. *Cata. of Smṛti* MSS., p. *766*.

4. *Cf.* दाल्भ्याश्रम identified with Dalman on the Ganges in the Rai Barelli District (JASB, Vol. LXIX, p. 84).

धर्मगुप्त, 4
धर्मराजा, 2
नागर, 4
नीलकण्ठ [1] (थत्ये,) 1
नीलकण्ठसूरि (थत्ये,) 7
नृसिंह पराशर, 1
नैगम, 4
पद्म(पुराण,) 7
पद्मपुराण (रेणुकामाहात्म्य,) 4
परभू(संज्ञा), 2, 7
पल्हवाः, 4; पल्हव, 4
पाद्मे सृष्टिखण्डे, 2

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1. नीलकण्ठ adopted a son (नारायण) in A. D. 1815 and thereafter lived for about 19 years till his death in A. D. 1834. Presuming that he was about 35 years at the time of his adopting a son we get A. D. 1780 as the probable date of his birth, the entire period of his life being about 54 years, if not more. It would, therefore, be reasonable to fix the literary activity of नीलकण्ठ to a period between A.D. 1800 and A.D. 1834. We have the copy of his कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श dated A.D. 1827 and consequently the date of *composition of this work must be between A.D. 1800 and 1827.*

I shall briefly indicate here the remarks about our नीलकण्ठशास्त्री as found on pp. 122-123 of the *Thatte Kula-vṛttānta*:—

Nīlakaṇṭha (=N.) was a well known Pandit of his time. He received his early education at Poona. Rāma Śāstri Prabhuṇe (died A.D. 1789) sent him to Benares for further education at the expense of the Peshwa. At Benares he studied under बाळभट्ट पायगुण्डे, the pupil of रामचन्द्रभट्ट तारे, who was himself the pupil of the celebrated नागोजिभट्ट काके the author of the परिभाषेन्दुशेखर. After becoming proficient in grammar and other subjects N. returned to Poona. He had many illustrious disciples, some of whom are:—

(1) भोरशास्त्री साठे (नैयायिक) (2) कुषाशास्त्री द्रविड (नैयायिक) (3) त्र्यम्बकशास्त्री शालिग्राम (मीमांसक), (4) विनायकशास्त्री दिवेकर, (5) भास्करशास्त्री अभ्यङ्कर (वैयाकरण) (6) राघवेन्द्राचार्य राजेन्द्रकरकर (वैयाकरण) and गोविन्दाचार्य अष्पुत्रे. मेरुशास्त्री गोडबोले though not a direct pupil of नीलकण्ठशास्त्री stayed with N. and taught many pupils. N. was appointed by Balājipant Natu as an assistant to the *Nyāyādhīśa* in the Adālat Court at Satara on Rs. 100. He left this service later but used to receive some stipend monthly from Government.

पारद, 4; पारदाः, 4
भागव[1], 3, 5, 7
भार्गवराम, 6
मनु, 3
माथुरगौड, 4
माधव, 7
माहिष्मती[2], 1
नयवि 4;, यवनाः, 4
याज्ञवल्क्य, 3
रुद्रगुप्त, 4, 5
वसिष्ठ, 4
विचित्रगुप्त, 4
विनायक (Father of नीलकण्ठ थत्थे,) 1, 7
विष्णुपुराण, 3, 6
विष्णुस्मृति, 4, 6
वेतव्रत, 1
वेदव्यास, 7
वैदेहक, 2
शक, 4; शकाः, 4
शतप्रश्नकल्पलता[3] by माधव, 7

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1. *Rājārāmacarita* composed by Keśavapaṇḍita in January, 1690 refers to भार्गव and his परशु as follows:—

"स्वामिन् सह्याचले पूर्वं दत्त्वा स्वपरशुं शुभम् ।
स्थापितो दुष्टशिक्षायै भक्तसंरक्षणाय च ॥ १२ Canto I.

The above verse occurs in a dialogue between भार्गव शिष्य and god शङ्कर, in which the latter predicts the future exploits of king Rājārām, the grandson of Shivaji at a time when the whole of the Deccan was in a chaotic state after the death of Rājārāma's father Sambhāji in 1689 A. D. (*Vide* Benares edition of राजारामचरित. Poona, 1931, p. 6.)

2. Māhiṣmatī has been identified by Pargiter with the place Māndhātā on the Nerbuda (JRAS, 1910, pp. 445-6) *Vide* N. 4. Dey: *Geogr. Dictionary*, 1927, p. 120.

3. In a MS of *Siddhāntavijaya* composed at Benares for Rāja Pratāpsiṁha of Satara about A. D. 1839 I find a quotation from a work शतप्रश्नकल्पलता by माधव dealing with शालिवाहनशकोत्पत्ति (36 verses). It begins on folio 64 of the B.O.R.I. Copy (No. 3 of 1837-38) as follows:—

"यथा माधवकृत शतप्रश्ने—
शालिवाहनस्य उत्पत्तिं प्रवक्ष्याम्यनुपूर्वशः ।
पुरा क्षेत्रे प्रतिष्ठाने विप्रोऽभूत्कौशिकान्वये ॥ १ ॥

The quotation ends—

शूद्रकमलाकर[1], 6
शूद्राचारशिरोमणि[2], 1
शौनक, 1
सखोपंतलिमये[3] अष्टेकर, (the original owner of the MS of the कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श,) 7
सगर, 4
सगरचरित, 7
सह्याद्रिखण्ड, 1
साहदेव, 7
सिंधु, 2; सिंधुतीर, 1
स्कान्दे (रेणुकामाहात्म्ये,) 3
स्कान्द (पुराण), 7
हरिवंश, 4, 6
शके १७४८= A. D. 1827, the date of the copy of the कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श

"अङ्कसर्पेन्दुरामाख्ये (३१७९) जाते युगचतुर्थके ।
शालिवाहनसंज्ञश्च प्रतिष्ठाने तु राजभाक् ॥ ३६ ॥

इति माधवकृत शतप्रश्नकल्पलतायां शालिवाहनशकोत्पत्तिः प्रश्नश्चत्वारिंशः ॥ ४० ॥

Another quotation of 23 verses occurs on folios 68-69.

1. Ed. N. S. Press, Bombay, 1895. The *Śūdrakamalākara* by Kamalākarabhaṭṭa is a standard treatise on the duties of Śūdras. In the *Śūdrakamalākara* the author refers to his *Nirṇayasindhu* composed in A. D. 1612 (20th February). Gāgābhaṭṭa (1674 A.D.) was the nephew of Kamalākarabhaṭṭa (*Vide* p. 437 of Kane's *History of Dharma*. Vol. I, 1930).

2. Possibly identical with a work of this name by कृष्णशेष son of नृसिंहशेष, composed by order of पिलाजीनृप son of केशवदास, B.O. R.I. MS. No. 50 of 1872-73 of this work was copied at Cambay on *4th March*, 1591. It is mentioned in आचाररत्न of लक्ष्मण (Between 1520-1590 A.D.). (*Vide* p. 641 of Kane: *History of Dharma, I.*)

3. Sakhopant Ananta Limaye (A.D. *1800* to about A. D, *1840*) was a contemporary of our author Nīlakaṇṭha Vināyak Thatthe (died A. D. *1834*). The MS of the कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श belonging to Sakhopant is dated A.D. *1827*. In a letter in Moḍī script (*Limaye Family Papers* No. 3 with me) dated A. D. 1827 our author is referred to as "वेदशास्त्रसंपन्ननीलकण्ठशास्त्री थथे". Sakhopant had a passion for collecting and preserving many Sanskrit MSS. as is evident from the number of about 450 MSS. preserved and added to by his descendants. Many of these MSS were got copied by Sakhopant between *A.D. 1800 and 1840.*

The Limaye MS of the *Kāyastha-parabhū-dharmādarśa* analysed above begins as follows:—

श्रीगणेशाय नमः

॥ अथ कायस्थपरभूधर्माः ॥

प्रणम्य परमात्मानं नीलकण्ठो विचक्षणः ।
थत्थोपनामकः सूरिर्विनायकतनूद्भवः ॥ १ ॥
त्र्यम्बकादिगुरून्नत्वा सर्वशास्त्रार्थपारगान् ।
सतां मनःप्रमोदाय दुर्मदोन्मादशान्तये ॥ २ ॥
भगवद्व्यासतात्पर्यं तदुक्त्यै(व) प्रकाशयन् ।
कायस्थपरभूयोग्यधर्मादर्शं करोम्यहम् ॥ ३ ॥
तत्रैकः कायस्थः सकलनिबन्धादिग्रन्थेषु प्रदर्शितः" etc.

The foregoing introductory verses clearly indicate (1) the correct title of the work (which is "कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श" and not परभूप्रकरण) as also (2) the name and surname of our author (*viz.* नीलकण्ठ विनायक थत्थे). The guru of our author mentioned in verse 2 above is त्र्यम्बक[1] who remains to be identified.

Sakhopant being a lover of Sanskrit learning must have been in close contact with our author Nīlakaṇṭha Vināyak Thatthe.

According to Thatte Family History, Nīlakaṇṭha Śāstri was sent to Benares for education by the celebrated *nyāyādhīśa* of the Peshwa period, Rāmaśāstrī Prabhuṇe who died in 1789 A. D. We have elsewhere stated A. D. 1780 or so as the probable date of Nīlakaṇṭha's birth. If the above statement in the *Thatte History* is correct we may have to push back this probable birth-date of Nīlakaṇṭha, say up to A. D. 1775 or so to enable us to presume that he was about 14 years of age at the time of Rāma Śāstri's death in A. D. 1789. Rāma Śāstri held the office of the *Nyāyādhīśa* for the last time for 12 years between A. D. 1777 and 1789 at the request of Nana Fadnis. It is possible to suppose that Nīlakaṇṭha may have been sent to Benares at Peshwa's expense between A.D. 1785 and 1789.

1. In the *Thatte History* (p. 122) one त्र्यम्बकशास्त्री शाळिग्राम (मीमांसक) has been mentioned as the disciple of our author. This statement needs to be verified.

The MS ends as follows:—

"इति थत्थोपनामक विनायकसूनुनीलकण्ठसूरिणा विरचितकायस्थ-परभूधर्मादर्शः समाप्तः ॥

श्री गजाननसुप्रसन्न ॥ शके १७४८ सर्वजिन्नामसंवत्सरे भाद्रपद-कृष्णाष्टम्यां गुरुवासरे थत्थोपनामकविनायकसूनुनीलकण्ठसूनुना (सूरिणा) विरचितकायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्शः समाप्तः ॥

इदं पुस्तकं सखोपन्त उपनामक लिमये अष्टेकर स्वार्थं परोप-कारार्थं लिखितम् ॥ श्री सांब ॥"

The MS described above was copied in **A. D.** 1827 for Sakhopant Limaye of Ashte as stated in the colophon reproduced above. Sakhopant's son Jayadeva prepared another copy of this very work in A. D. 1827 which also we find in the Limaye collection.

Nīlakaṇṭha Vināyak Thatthe the author of the कायस्थपरभू-धर्मादर्श represented by 2 MSS in the Limaye collection has already been identified by me with Nīlakaṇṭha Śāstri Vināyak Śāstri Thatte mentioned in *the Thatte Family History* (*vide* footnotes to the early portion of this paper). The chronology of the author from his grandfather to his son may be briefly recorded below:—

A. D.	Reference.
1775-1783	Nārāyaṇa, the grandfather of our author living.
C. 1775	Probable date of birth of our author (=N).
1777	N's father Vināyaka was acting as Phaḍṇīs.
Before 1789	Rāma Śāstri Prabhuṇe sends N to Benares for education.
1815	N. adopts as son his nephew Nārayaṇa the son of his brother M or Śāstri.
1818	Marriage of N's adopted son with the daughter of Sardar Bālājipant Natu.
1827	Date of the MSS of N's work कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श.
,,	N. mentioned in a letter addressed to Sakhopant Limaye.
1830	Grant of a village to N.
1831	Grant of some land to N.
1834	*Death of N.*
1838	Grant of land to N's son Nārāyaṇa.

The occasion when the *Kāyastha-parabhū-dharmādarśa* may have been composed by the author is furnished by the *Parabhū-grāmaṇya* of A. D. 1823, with which Sardar Bālājipant Nātu[1] was closely associated. It would be reasonable to presume that Bālājipant should find in relative Nīlakaṇṭha Śāstri[2] a protagonist of the position taken by him against the Prabhus[3]. If this presumption is correct the date of the present work would lie *between A. D.* 1823 *and* 1827, the year in which two MSS of the work were got copied by the members of the Limaye family.

1. Vide *Peshwa Daltar Selection* No. 42, ed. by G. S. Sardesai (1934) pp. 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, 15, 16, 18, 23, 24, 25, 54, 83, 85, 86, 101, 107. On p. 25 we have a reference to the request made by Bālājipant to Pratap Singh the Raja of Satara (17th July 1819) that the Raja should show to Grant Duff all papers to help him to write an authentic history of the Marathas.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 22—Pratap Singh records in his Diary under date 25th *July, 1819,* some conversation between one नीलकण्ठशास्त्री and Grant Duff on Hindu Customs ("नीलकण्ठशास्त्री व ग्रोट याचे बोलणे शास्त्राये हिंदचे चालीचे"). I am inclined to identify this नीलकण्ठशास्त्री with the author of the कायस्थपरभूधर्मादर्श, as we know from the *Thatte Family History* that our author was given as an assistant to the judge at the Adālat Court at Satara by Bālājipant Natu. On pp. 40-41 we have a proclamation about the Vishrambag Palace Pāṭha-Śālā dated *21st Sept. 1819*, providing for instruction in व्याकरण and other *Śāstras*. I wonder if our author, who was proficient in grammar had anything to do with this Pāṭha-Śālā. This point is worth investigating.

3. *See* Rajawade: *Sources of Maratha History*, Khaṇḍa, VI. p. 523.

A NOTE ON THE DATE OF VĀTSYĀYANA

BY

DEWAN BAHADUR K. S. RAMASWAMI SASTRI.

The date of Vātsyāyana, the famous author of the Kāma-Sūtras, is one of the many puzzles of Indian chronology. But there are certain facts that throw a flood of light on it and justify the view that he probably belonged to the first century B. C. The period from Candragupta Maurya through Agnimitra to Vikramāditya was one of the golden age of Hinduism, because it began with Kauṭalya's Artha Śāstra and gave to the world Vātsyāyana's Kāma Śāstra, Kālidāsa's poetry and drama, and Śaṅkarācārya's philosophy. It was thus the age of Hindu self-realisation in the realms of the real and the beautiful and the ideal.

There is much similarity between some of the sūtras of Vātsyāyana and some of the Kalpa-Sūtras and the Gṛhya Sūtras of Āpastamba. The Sūtra सुप्तां रुदतीं निष्क्रान्तां वरणे परिवर्जयेत्, the Sūtra गुप्तां दत्तां etc., the verse नक्षत्राख्यां etc., the Sūtra यस्यां मनश्चक्षुषोर्निबन्धस्तस्यामृद्धिर्नेतरामाद्रियेतेत्येके, the Sūtra त्रिरात्रमधःशय्या ब्रह्मचर्यं क्षारलवणवर्जमाहारः etc., agree in both. There are also points of similarity and even identity between him and Bodhāyana and Vasiṣṭha. We may, therefore, take him to belong to the tail end of the Sūtra period which is regarded by many scholars as being 600 B. C. to 200 B. C. Kauṭalya's Artha Śāstra is proved by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal to have belonged to the fourth century B.C. and it was Kauṭalya that helped to establish Candragupta on his throne and was his minister during his reign. Some authors went the length of identifying Vātsyāyana with Kauṭalya. There is no justification for such a mistake: Vātsyāyana was evidently later than Kauṭalya and followed the latter's method of treatment of his subject. Professor Jolly and Professor Winternitz think that the systematisation of the Kāma Śāstra by Vātsyāyana was not long after the systematisation of the Artha Śāstra by Kauṭalya, though they give a later date to both of them. Vātsyāyana has got a Sūtra reminiscent of Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya and may thus have belonged to the second century B.C.

A fairly decisive fact is that Kālidāsa knew Vātsyāyana well. He refers to Kauṭalya by the respectful title Tantrakāra in Mālavikāgnimitra, Act I. Kāṭayavēma says in his commentary on the play that the poet refers by the word Tantrakāra to the Artha Śāstrakāra. The poet refers to Bharata Muni in Act II and Act III of Vikramorvaśīya. He had a close acquaintance with Vātsyāyana also. Vātsyāyana refers in his Sūtras to the story of Duṣyanta but not to Kālidāsa. He must have had in his mind the story of Duṣyanta as narrated in the Mahābhārata. The Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa also refers to Śakuntalā and her son Bharata. Kālidāsa has taken words and ideas and sentiments from Vātsyāyana though he has worked them into supreme things of beauty in his own peerless way. In describing the physical manifestations of love when Aja and Indumatī touched hands during their marriage, Kālidāsa adopts the language of Vātsyāyana. He says "आसीद्वर: कण्टकितप्रकोष्ठ: स्विन्नाङ्गुलि: संववृते कुमारी." Vātsyāyana says: "कन्या तु प्रथमसमागमे स्विन्नकरचरणाङ्गुलि: स्विन्नमुखी च भवति । पुरुषस्तु रोमाञ्चितो भवति. (Benares Edition p. 260.) Kālidāsa however says in describing Śiva and Pārvatī during the touch of their hands at their marriage. रोमोद्गम: प्रादुरभूदुमाया: स्विन्नाङ्गुलि: पुङ्गवकेतुरासीत् । (Kumārasambhava, canto VII verse 76). Professor Jacobi seems to think that this was a mistake on Kālidāsa's part. I do not agree. I think that Kālidāsa knew well enough that there is no such demarcated distribution on the basis of sex in respect of perspiration and horripilation as opined by Vātsyāyana and wanted to state such a view clearly. It is also noteworthy that the words मित्रकृत्यमपदिश्य occur in Vātsyāyana p. 323 and in Raghuvaṁśa canto XIX verse. In Act I of Śākuntala, Kālidāsa follows the description of the bashfulness of a love-lorn maiden in her lover's presence as described in Vātsyāyana (p. 227). It must be further borne in mind that the words of Vātsyāyana in भोगेष्वनुत्सेक: परिजने दाक्षिण्यं (p. 230) are used by Kālidāsa in his world-famous gem of a verse in Act IV of Śākuntala (शुश्रूषस्व गुरून् etc.). Kālidāsa refers also to the word Nāgaraka in Act V of Śākuntala and uses it in the sense in which it is used by Vātsyāyana, *i.e.*, the city-bred man of culture and refinement.

I have shown elsewhere that Kālidāsa belonged to the first century B.C. This fact is undeniably proved by his reference to

Agnimitra (who belonged to the first century B.C.) as a contemporary sovereign in the Bharata Vākyam in Mālavikāgnimitra and by his having been referred to in Kumārila Bhaṭṭa's *Tantravārttika* wherein there is a reference to the verse—

एवं च विद्वद्वचनाद्विनिर्गतं प्रसिद्धरूपं कविभिर्निरूपितम् ।
सतां हि सन्देहपदेषु वस्तुषु प्रमाणमन्तःकरणप्रवृत्तयः ॥

Someśvara says in his *Nyāyasudhā* that the word Kavi in the verse refers to Kālidāsa. As the plural *Kavibhiḥ* is used without mentioning the poet's name we can realise that Kālidāsa was held in great respect by the great Kumārila. The latter was a contemporary of Śaṅkarācārya and I have tried in a monograph to show that Śaṅkara belonged to the first century B.C.

It is therefore clear that Vātsyāyana was posterior to the Sūtrakāras and Patañjali and prior to Kālidāsa and belonged to the second century B.C. Professor A. B. Sastri and Mr H. C. C. Chakladar would assign to Vātsyāyana the third century A. D. But the priority of Vātsyāyana to Kālidāsa makes this date impossible of acceptance. Equally untenable is the view of Mahāmahopādhyāya Hara Prasad Śāstri that Vātsyāyana belonged to the first century A. D. Professor Batuknath Bhaṭṭāchārya is in favour of a much earlier date for Vātsyāyana's Kāma Sūtras and Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra. Both these works certainly preceded Kālidāsa's works.

I may say a word here about the supposed political data found in Vātsyāyana's work. He refers to Kuntala Śātakarṇi Śātavāhana and his queen Malayavatī. Kuntala Śātakarṇi was an Andhra king. The Andhra overlordship of India was between the second century B.C. and the second century A.D. Professor Jolly says that the political evidence in Vātsyāyana is indecisive. I do not think that we can establish Kuntala Śātakarṇi's date with much precision. It is said by some scholars that he may have belonged to the first century A. D. But that is a matter of guess. The date of Kuntala Śātakarṇi is not so definite as to displace the date fixed with reference to Kālidāsa. Vātsyāyana refers to many kings and many tribes. He refers to a Cola Rāja, to the Ābhīra Rāja of Kotta, to the Vidarbhas and Vātsagulmas and others. But the dates of these kings are unknown. On the whole it seems to be a fairly well-grounded view to hold that Vātsyāyana possibly belonged to the second century B.C. or at the latest to the first century B.C.

MAHARAṬHA HILL FORTRESSES.

BY

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Among the many Vahīs preserved in the Tanjore Mahārāja Serfojee's Sarasvatī Mahāl Palace Library, Tanjore, one contains a list of the Maharaṭha Hill possessions. The list is written as usual in the then official script, the Moḍi script. In consequence it is hard to decipher. I have tried to make out as far as possible with the aid of my friend, Pandit Gosvami and am now publishing the list for the first time. Several lists of the Maharaṭha possessions have been published till now and the apology once again for publishing another list is that the list now published contains many names that were unknown till now. It is, therefore, likely that this will add to our knowledge of the history of the Maharaṭha rule in India.

In the list which follows some of the names may be subject to correction, materially in certain cases and nominally in certain others. The reason as already explained is the difficulty in reading the script.

The possessions have been classified into different Taluks each being called a Gaḍ. Each Gaḍ is further subdivided into its divisions. Of the possessions noted here the main taluka divisions are 17. The number of subdivisions is noted under each.

I. Rāygaḍ.

Rāygaḍ consisted of the following six subdivisions:—

i. Rāyagaḍ.
ii. Mehagaḍ.
iii. Gahangaḍ.
iv. Nālgaḍ
v. Māngaḍ.
vi. Viśrāmgaḍ.

II. Pratāpgaḍ.

Pratāpgaḍ consisted of nine subdivisions. They are:—

i. Pratāpgaḍ.
ii. Makarandgaḍ.
iii. Mahipatgaḍ.
iv. Sumergaḍ.
v. Rasālgaḍ.
vi. Suvarṇagaḍ.
vii. Mandangaḍ.
viii. Vasogaḍ.
ix. Sāraṅgagaḍ.

III. Viśālgaḍ.

The following are the subdivisions of this gaḍ :—

i. Viśālgaḍ.
ii. Gagangaḍ.
iii. Vijayadurg.
iv. Mahimatgaḍ.
v. Prahitgaḍ. [?]

IV. Sātāra.

The following were included in Sātāra division :—

i. Sātāra.
ii. Pāṇḍūr.
iii. Vairāṭ.
iv. Vandangaḍ.
v. Candangaḍ.
vi. Jahāṅgīr.
vii. Saffangoḍ.
viii. Saundargaḍ.
ix. Maregir.[?]
x. Vasantagaḍ.

V. Tānagaḍ.

Tānagaḍ consisted of the following subdivisions:—

i. Tānagaḍ.
ii. Pātangaḍ.
iii. Karvīrgaḍ.

VI. Gambhīrgaḍ.

Two subdivisions are noticed under this Taluk :—

i. Gambhīrgaḍ.
ii. Sevagaḍ.

VII. Phoḷe.

Five subdivisions ard noticed under this head :—

i. Phoḍe.
ii. Akolya.
iii. Sirinār.
iv. Kaḍa.
v. Kaḍar or Kandar[?]

VIII. Bhujabalgaḍ.

There are fourteen subdivisions under this head:—

i. Bhujabalgaḍ.
ii. Gahangaḍ.
iii. Prauḍhagaḍ.
iv. Vanagaḍ.
v. Ruldrug.
vi. Śrīmantagaḍ.
vii. Mahamatgaḍ.
viii. Gajendaragaḍ.
ix. Hazargaḍ.
x. Koppal or Kotal[?]
xi. Th............?
xii. Parākramagaḍ.
xiii. Kanakādri.
xiv. Kavergaḍ.

IX. Bhūpālgaḍ.

Bhūpālgaḍ consists of six subdivisions and they are:—

i. Mahimangaḍ.
ii. Varugaḍ.
iii. Maccendragaḍ.
iv. Vardhangaḍ.
v. Santoṣgaḍ.
vi. Bhūṣaṇgaḍ.

X. Rājgaḍ.

Rājgaḍ consisted of ten subdivisions and they are:—

i. Rājgaḍ.
ii. Pracaṇḍagad.
iii. Siṁhagaḍ.
iv. Durdhangaḍ.
v. Vicitragaḍ.
vi. Manamohangaḍ.
vii. Surelagaḍ.
viii. Padmagaḍ.
ix. Sañjīvangaḍ.
x. Komalgaḍ.

XI. Lohagaḍ.

There are eight subdivisions in this and they are:—

i. Lohagaḍ.
ii. Sahalgaḍ.
iii. Śivagaḍ.[?]
iv. Kariṇagaḍ.
v. Korigaḍ.
vi. Ghanagaḍ.
vii. Śrīvardhanagaḍ.
viii. Manorañjangaḍ.

XII. Sa(heri)?

This name is note quite clear. There are three subdivisions in this and they too are not very clear.

i. Sa(heri)?
ii. ....?
iii. ....?

XIII. Prabalgaḍ.

Prabalgaḍ consists of eight subdivisions and they are as follows:

i. Prabalgaḍ.
ii. Mahamalgaḍ.
iii. Managaḍ.
iv. Svarūpagaḍ.
v. Māṇikkagaḍ.
vi. Vikaṭagaḍ.
vii. Dhakgaḍ.
viii. Mohagaḍ.

XIV. Śrīgaḍ.

There are fourteen divisions in the Śrīgaḍ.

i. Śrīgaḍ.
ii. Harṣagaḍ.
iii. Bhāskaragaḍ.
iv. Vaghera.[?]
v. Gadgaḍ.
vi. Bavagaḍ.
vii. Mitragaḍ.
viii. Mohangaḍ.
ix. Merugaḍ.
x. Mahīdhargaḍ.
xi. Mahagaḍ.
xii. Rāmsen.
xiii. Devagir.
xiv. Singangaḍ or Simangaḍ [?]

XV. Sudhāgaḍ.

The subdivisions under this heading are given in the Vahī as *ten* though as a matter of fact there are *eleven*. They are—

i. Bhetarap Sudhāgaḍ.
ii. Mātgaḍ.
iii. Sāgargaḍ.
iv. Girigaḍ.

v. Sāsargaḍ.
vi. Sārangagaḍ.
vii. Śirasgaḍ.
viii. Paṅkadurg.
ix. Mṛgagaḍ.
x. Savengaḍ.
xi. Sīraṅgagaḍ.

XVI. Ādivanta.

The divisions under this head are six and they are:—

i. Ādivantagaḍ.
ii. Acalagaḍ.
iii. Marmadagaḍ.
iv. Navagaḍ.
v. Maderagaḍ.
vi. Nāsik.

XVII. Haricandragaḍ.

There are thirteen sub-divisions under this heading.

i. Maṇicandragaḍ.
ii. Patta.
iii. Patagaḍ.
iv. Vi-mi[?] magaḍ.
v. Tangaḍ.
vi. Navadhanigaḍ.
vii. Prasannagaḍ.
viii. Parvatagaḍ.
ix. La............[?]
x. Tannargaḍ.
xi. Sudhākargaḍ.
xii. Adgaḍ.
xiii. Marepatagaḍ.

Thus the total No. of the possessions comes to 133. The total given in the Vahī is 139 and that is due to the repetition of one of the major items, consisting of six divisions.

In a further issue of this journal I shall make detailed remarks on some of the more important of these names.

॥ नमो मात्रे ॥

॥ रामस्य आन्तरो भावसम्मर्दः ॥

वा. ह. सुब्रह्मण्यशास्त्री

सा किल च्छन्दोमयी सरस्वती भगवतः पद्मविष्टरस्यानुमतिमुपलभ्य समुचितनायकप्रवेकलाभेन कुतूहलितान्तरा त्वरिततरं कविवेधसो वल्मीकजन्मनो मुखकमलादाविर्लसति स्मेति निखिलैरिदं रामायणज्ञैराकलितमेव । चिरात्खलु प्रतिपालितो गुणप्रकरपरिकर्मितो नायकश्रेष्ठो भगवत्या भारत्या । न जातुचिदन्विष्टोऽप्यधिगम्येत सद्गुणैकनिलयो राघवादन्य इति हि निश्चितमानसा निर्जगाम महर्षेर्मुखकमलात् । अन्यदप्यधिदेवतेयं वाचामन्तराकलयामासेव राघवाश्रितमात्मानं रसयितुं न तस्मादितरः समर्थ इति । ततो नु पितामहो धरत्येव राघवे समग्रं ग्रथयितुं तच्चरितमाज्ञापयन् भाविनोऽप्यर्थस्याधिगमाय दिव्यामपि दृशं ददाति स्म प्राचेतसाय, प्रचोदितो भारत्या । अतो हि वाल्मीकिराकलय्य काव्यं श्रावयामास दाशरथिं तदात्मजाभ्याम् । कविरपि निखिलसद्गुणनिधानं निर्वर्ण्य दाशरथिं तरलितः किल कौतूहलेन नारदेन तमुपश्लोकयति प्रथम एव सर्गे । समुचितश्चायं पन्था येन श्रोतारोऽपि तस्मिन् प्ररोचिताः प्रमुदिताः प्रवर्तेरन् । किं बहुना ? प्रायशः प्रतिग्रन्थं प्रकटयत्येवायं विनैव पौनरुक्त्यं दाशरथेस्तांस्तान् गुणविशेषान् । त इमेऽत्रोपवर्ण्यमाना गुणगणा दैवीं संपदमभिजाताः समुदिताश्चैकत्रैव दशरथनन्दने तस्य देवत्वमावेदयन्ति ।

यदपि रामायणपरिशीलनेन रामस्य विष्णवंशत्वं विशदमवगम्यत एव, अथाप्याधुनिकानां रसनकलाकोविदानां रुचिभेदेन रामे मनुजत्वमारोप्यमाणं रामायणे रसं सन्धुक्षयतीत्यस्त्येव भावस्तदनुभवानुवादी । अस्य च तत्त्वस्य तलस्पर्शेन परामर्शनम् 'रामस्य आन्तरो भावसम्मर्दः' इति विवक्षितविषयव्याख्याने नारचयति लेशतोऽप्युपकारमिति न तत्रादध्मो दृष्टिम् । किन्तु देवस्यापि सतो रामस्य

'आत्मानं[1] मानुषं मन्ये' इति युद्धकाण्डाभिधानात् 'स्त्रीसङ्गिनां [2]गतिमिति प्रथयंश्चचार' इति पुराणभणनाच्च मर्त्यविडम्बित्वं वावलम्बनीयमेवान्ततः । यद्येवं के नामास्य गुणा मनुष्यत्वावद्योतिन इत्यादावाकलनीयम् । मनुजत्वमप्यस्य विहितप्रवृत्त्यहितनिवृत्तिव्यञ्जककाव्यविषयत्वेन परममुत्कृष्टमेवेष्टव्यम् । तदेवंविधमनुजत्वेऽस्य स्थिरीकृते तच्चरितमामृशतामस्माकं मनसि शङ्काः काश्चन पदं निदधति । यथा—

यो नाम द्विर्नाभिभाषित्वेन विशेषितः, यो ह्यखण्डमपि भूमण्डलं तृणखण्डमिव तूलयामास, यश्च गहनाय वनाय नोदयन्तीमपि कैकेयीमुदारेण मनसा मातुरप्यधिकाममंस्त, यस्य च लक्ष्मीं महानपि राज्यभ्रंशो नापचकर्ष, यस्य ब्रह्मिष्ठैर्वसिष्ठादिभिरप्यादिश्यमानो राज्यप्रत्यायनोपायो न जातु पथ्यतामियाय, यस्य च बुद्धिर्विनैव क्लेशम्, विनैव विमृशनं च, अतिघोरमप्यरण्यवासं सुखसममध्यवस्यति स्म, स नाम कथमिवार्हत्यनुसन्धातुं पदेपदे 'सकामा भव कैकेयी' इति ॥ तथाहि—

विराधसंरोधे 'कैकेय्यास्तु[3] सुसंपन्नं क्षिप्रमद्यैव लक्ष्मण । या न तुष्यति राज्येन पुत्रार्थे दीर्घदर्शिनी ॥ ययाहं सर्वभूतानां हितः प्रस्थापितो वनम् । अद्येदानीं सकामा सा या माता मम मध्यमा ॥ परस्पर्शात्तु वैदेह्या न दुःखतरमस्ति मे । पितुर्वियोगात् सौमित्रे स्वराज्यहरणात्तथा ॥' इति । तथा मारीचं मृत्योरुपायनीकृत्य निवर्तमानस्य राघवस्य 'दीनस्य[4] राज्याद्भ्रष्टस्य दण्डकारण्यवासिनो मे' इत्यादीनि वचनानि ह्यन्निरूढं शोकभारं हि समुद्गिरन्ति । तथैवेमानि वाक्यानि 'मे [5]प्राणेभ्योऽपि प्रियतरा वैदेही कच्चिज्जीवति लक्ष्मण, सौम्य कच्चिन्मे प्रव्राजनं न मिथ्या भविष्यति, सीतार्थं मयि मृत्युं वृतवति, त्वयि चैकाकिन्ययोध्यामधिगते, कच्चित् सा कैकेयी सुखमेधिष्यते, कच्चित् समाप्तकामा संपत्स्यते, हतात्मजा मन्दभाग्या कौसल्या मे माता सपुत्रराज्यां सिद्धार्थां कैकेयीं कच्चिन्नोपस्थास्यति' इति । अनन्तरं चैवमेव विलपति 'हा [6]सकामाद्य कैकेयी देवी सापि भविष्यति ।' '[7]राज्यप्रणाशः स्वजनैर्वियोगः पितुर्विनाशो जननी-

1. रामायण, यु- 121, 11.
2. श्रीभागवत.
3. रामा-, अरण्य-, 2, 19-21.
4. रामा- अरण्य-, 58, 3.
5. रामा-, अरण्य-, 58, 6-7-8.
6. रामा-, अरण्य-, 62, 11.
7. रामा-, अरण्य, 63, 5-6.

वियोगः । सर्वाणि मे लक्ष्मण शोकवेगमापूरयन्ति प्रविचिन्तितानि ॥ सर्वं तु दुःखं वनमेत्य शून्यं शान्तं शरीरे मम लक्ष्मणेदम् । सीतावियोगात् पुनरप्युदीर्णं काष्ठैरिवाग्निः सहसा प्रदीप्तः ॥' इति ।

एवं जीवितान्तमुपागतं गृध्रेन्द्रमुद्वीक्ष्य विह्वलान्तरो विशदयति हृदयम् '[1]केयमलक्ष्मीर्मामाश्रिता । अतिदारुणेयं पावकमपि प्लुष्येत् । अनया ह्यहमनायिषीमां दशाम् । भ्रष्टोऽस्मि राज्यात् । वसन्नस्मि विजने वने । विहस्तितोऽस्मि सीताम् । घातितोऽस्ति च द्विज' इति । निदर्शितैरेभिरभिधानैर्दाशरथेः कैकेयीगतं भावान्तरमवद्योत्यत इति विश्लेषां विशदमेव । न कदाचिदीदृशो भावः प्राकृतस्यापि जनस्य समुत्पत्तुमर्हति, किमुत विश्वातिशायिगुणरत्नभूषणस्य राघवस्य ।

किं चायं किल दाशरथिरन्वशाद्भरतम्, 'वत्स[2] ! न जातु कैकेय्यै कुप्येथाः, तां ते मातरमभिमानादभिरक्ष' इति । सौमित्रावपि 'युवतिरहितं[3] लोकं कर्तास्मि, यतो वयं छलिताः' इति समुद्यतेऽयं हि राघवस्तामदोषामाचष्ट । स कथमद्य व्यसने समुपनते तामित्थं विगर्हितुमर्हति ? परिरक्षणाय हि पितुर्वचनस्यायमरण्यानीमाहिण्डते स्म । स कथं तत्कारणायमानां कैकेयीं विनिन्दंस्तत्परिपालकः कल्पेत । फलतश्च तदवमन्ता संपद्येतापि । सेवको हि स्वामिनमनुवर्तमानोऽपि कृत्यैः, वाचा हतोऽयं यजमानो मां क्लिश्नात्यनारतमिति वदन् कथमिव स्वामिनो मनस्समावर्जयेत्, प्रत्युत तन्मनः परिकर्शयेदेव । इत्थमभिधात्रा दाशरथिना रक्षितमप्यरक्षितमेव पितुर्वचनम् । किं च योऽयं धीरमुदीरयामास 'देवि [4]नाहमस्म्यर्थपरः, न तेनोत्सहे लोकं चावस्तुम्, धर्ममेव केवलमास्थितं मामृषिभिः सदृशं विद्धि । परित्यजन्नपि प्राणानहं यदत्रभवतः प्रियं तत्कर्तास्म्येव' इति, तस्य कुतः कथं वा युज्येत राज्यभ्रंशः खेदाय ।

अपि च राघवः पितृवियोगाद्विह्वलान्तरो विलपन्नद्य कुतो वा नाशङ्किष्ट तन्निधनमयोध्यायाः प्रतिष्ठमानः । अनाशङ्का चास्य

1. रामा-, अरण्य, 67, 25.
2. रामा-, अयोध्या-, 112, 27.
3. प्रतिमानाटक, 1. अङ्क.
4. रामा, अयोध्या-, 19, 19-20.

कथमिव घटेत । यदैवास्य मध्यमा माता, महेन्द्रसिक्ता मही बिलमग्नमुरगद्वयमिव वरद्वयमुद्ववाम, तदात्व एव विगतचेतनं तं न राघवो नाज्ञासीत् ॥ अपि च सुमन्त्रेण सत्वरं सन्निधापिते राघवेऽभिधेयमप्यभिधातुमशक्नुवानं धरित्रीतले लुठन्तमपगतासोरविशिष्टं तातं न रामो नाध्यक्षयामास । कान्दिशीकां दशामाविशन्तं राजानं जानन् हि दाशरथिः कौसल्यां लक्ष्मणं जानकीं च जनकस्य शुश्रूषायै समादिशत् । आहत्यात्मानम् ऊरीकुरु राज्यमित्याद्यादिशन्तं पितरं परां काष्ठां प्राप्तं दुःखस्य कथमिव रघुवरो नाज्ञास्त । सुमन्त्रनुद्यमानमात्मजाधिष्ठितं रथवरमनुपततो जराजर्जरितस्य विवशस्य पुत्रशोकात्परितपतः पङ्क्तिरथस्य समवस्थां संस्मरतः कस्य वा सचेतसो हृदयं न द्रवति । ततो हि प्राचेतसः 'तिष्ठेति[1] राजा चुक्रोश याहि याहीति राघवः । सुमन्त्रस्य बभूवात्मा चक्रयोरिव चान्तरा ॥ इति सुमन्त्रात्मनः परां शोच्यतां प्रस्तौति । 'उपालब्धोऽपि[2] नाश्रौषमिति राजानं वक्ष्यसि ।' इति ब्रुवता रामेण दशरथगतः कोऽपि मानसिको भाव आविर्व्यधाय्येव । अथवा दाशरथिना दशरथस्य दशा विज्ञातेत्यत्र किमियता प्रमाणान्वेषणप्रयासेन । यो हि दशरथः षष्टिसहस्रं वत्सरान् अपुत्रः परितपन्नमानुषेण व्यवसायेन विबुधानाराध्य आत्मजमवाप, स नाम कथं नु प्रगल्भेत परिणते वयसि, प्राप्तयौवनं पण्डितं पराक्रमिणं धुरीणं पुत्रं परित्यक्तुम् । पुत्रेण वा परित्यक्तः प्राणैः परित्यज्येतेति न खल्वयं अभिधेयोंऽशः । तद्भावयन्नेव भाविनं पितुर्जीवितान्तं केनापि प्रेर्यमाण इवाविशदटवीं राघव इति विशदमेवेदम् । अपि च तद्वचनादेवेदं विवृतमालक्ष्यते 'कैकेय्या[3] वञ्चितो राजा मयि चारण्यमाश्रिते । भवत्या च परित्यक्तो न नूनं वर्तयिष्यति' ॥ इति । 'यावत्त्वं पुरादस्मादभित्वरन् न वनं यातः, राम तावन्न ते पिता स्नास्यते भोक्ष्यते वा इति केकयेन्द्रपुत्र्या लोभोपप्लुतं वचनमाकर्ण्यापि रामो यदि तस्या लोभं न बोधांबभूवेत्युच्यते, तत्कथमिवास्माभिरुपादीयेत । अनुव्रजतस्तन्मात्रपरायणान्पौरान् वञ्चयित्वा काननमुपेयिवान् रामः वज्रादपि कठोरान्तरः किल विज्ञायते । काननगतान्क्लेशाननुचिन्त्य सहायान्तीं सीतामननुमन्यमानस्य रामस्य 'राम[4] जामातरं प्राप्य स्त्रियं

1. रामा- अयोध्या-, 40, 46.
2. रामा- अयोध्या-, 40, 47.
3. रामा- अयोध्या-, 24, 11.
4. रामा- अयोध्या-, 30, 3.

पुरुषविग्रहम् ' इदमादिवैदेहीवचनं भावान्तरमुद्भावयेदेव । सौमित्रिरपि तादृशं साहसमाविश्चकासयन् रामस्य मानसे सन्तापं कथं न संवर्धयेत् । तदियता प्रपञ्चेन, दाशरथेः—आत्मनः प्रवासेन पितुराधिरेधिष्यते ; ततश्च मातॄणाम् ; सहनयनेन च सीताया अटव्यां जनिष्यते भूयस्तरां क्लेशः ; लोभाच्च राज्ये मामियं प्रस्थापयति कान्तारं कैकेयी, तदयं भावोऽस्याः स्वकुलान्तकरः इत्यभूदेवायं भावः । अथापि पितृप्राणनादपि परिपालनं तद्वचसो धर्मं निश्चिकाय दशरथनन्दनः ।

पितुरुज्जीवन - वाक्परिपालनाख्यभावयोः दाशरथेरन्तरामृद्नतोः अन्तिम एव विजयमियाय । न ह्येतावता आदिमो भावस्तस्मिन्नासीदिति वक्तुं युक्तम् ; यतो वनवासविहितखेदेषु अनुभूयमानेषु समयानुगुणं उन्मस्तक आचकास्ति । न ह्यत्यन्तमसन् भावः सद्यस्समुत्पत्तुमीष्टे । करुणावरुणालयस्य दशरथतनूजस्य पितुः प्रजानां च परिखेदो न खेदायेति को ह्यस्ति समर्थस्सत्यापयितुम् ? न केवलमयं भावः परस्तादेव प्रकटीक्रियते, यावत् कौसल्याया आवसथमावर्तमानस्य अवस्थां आवेदयन् वल्मीकजन्मा रामस्याशयमाविर्विधत्ते । तथा हि 'धारयन्मनसा[1] दुःखम् इन्द्रियाणि निगृह्य च । प्रविवेशात्मवान् वेश्म मातुरप्रियशंसिवान् ॥' इति । एवं जानकीनिकेतनप्राप्तावपि 'प्रहृष्टजनसम्पूर्णं[2] स्वं गेहं ह्रिया किंचिदवाङ्मुखो जगाम । धर्मात्मा राघवस्तां दृष्ट्वा शोकं सोढुं न शशाक । ततो विवृततां गत' इति । अत्र हि सत्यं भासते 'स्वजनस्य[3] हि दुःखमग्रतो विवृतद्वारमिवोपजायते' इति कालिदासीयं वचनम् । धर्मात्मेति विशिंषन् राघवं वल्मीकजन्मा तद्गतं भावसम्मर्दं किल विशदयति । धर्म्यं नु पितुर्वचनपरिपालनम् । धर्मात्मा च नियतं तन्निर्वर्तयिष्यति । तदानीं च राज्याद्भ्रंशः पितृवियोगो वनवासश्च दुःसहं खेदमाधास्यन्ति ।

अत्रेदमावेद्यते । मनः किल संकल्पविकल्पात्मकम् । बुद्धिश्चाध्यवसायात्मिका । तन्मनो विनैव विशिष्टं कारणं किंचित् संकल्पयति विकल्पयति च । बुद्धिस्तूचिताभिरुपपत्तिभिर्मनोगतं भावमध्यवस्यति ।

1. रामा- अयोध्या-, 19, 35.
2. रामा- अयोध्या-, 27, 5.
3. कुमारसंभव, 4. सर्ग.

तत इदमुदीर्यते 'सहसा प्रभवत्यकारणादपि संकल्पविकल्पयोर्मनः । उचिताभिरथोपपत्तिभिः स्थिरबुद्ध्याध्यवसाययन्ति तत् ॥' इति । दाशरथेर्हि धर्मैकनिष्ठा बुद्धिः पूर्वोदितयोर्भावयोः पितृवाक्यरक्षणमुपपत्तिमदुत्पश्यति स्म । अटवीगतकृच्छ्रेषु च जृम्भमाणेषु तस्य मानसी वृत्तिर्दुःखैकताना बुद्धिं तिरोधाय प्रावर्धत । अतस्तदनुगुणमुपालभते मध्यमां मातरम् । शोकक्रोधभयाद्यभिभूतानां न मनो बुद्धिवशं गतमास्त इति निखिलानामनुभवोऽयम् । 'क्रुद्धो हन्याद्गुरूनपि' 'निर्विण्णो नोपदेशार्हः' इत्यादि गाथाश्चेममेव भावमनुवदन्ति ।

अयमत्र विमर्शनीयोंऽशः, रामबुद्ध्याहिते निश्चये, यत् पितुर्जीवनदानादपि कथमिव तद्वाक्यपरिपालनं धर्म्यं पन्थानमाश्रयतीति । वस्तुतस्तु अत्र हि दृष्टलोकपरावरो वसिष्ठप्रमुखैर्ब्रह्मनिष्ठैरप्यनालक्षितस्य धर्मसूक्ष्मस्य वेत्ता स एव भगवान् रामोऽर्हति तरतमभावेन धर्मनिर्णयमाधातुमिति सांप्रतम् । उच्छ्रितेषु धर्मकृच्छ्रेषु येषां शिष्टानामाचरणं प्रमाणीक्रियते, तेषां अग्रणीः खलु रघुप्रवीरः । अथाप्यत्र निदानमिदमुत्प्रेक्षामहे, यत् वर्णाश्रमधर्मव्यवस्थायितेन प्रजानां सद्वर्त्मप्रवर्तननिदर्शनायितेन राज्ञा सता कृच्छ्रेषु धर्मेषु यदंशे न स्वार्थता समर्थ्येत, यत्र च धर्मनिर्वर्तनाय महानपि त्यागः प्रदर्श्येत स एव पक्षः कक्षीकर्तव्यः । न चेज्जगदिदं कामवृत्ति विपर्यस्येत् । अतो नु राघवः घोरमपि कान्तारम् आत्मनीनममंस्त । यदि नाम कैकेयीवचनं लोभलुलितं कुलान्तकमिति तूलीक्रियेत हन्त यथायथमुच्छृङ्खलम् उत्पथं प्रपद्येत लोकः । अन्ततः जानकीमपवदन् रजक एवात्र पर्याप्तो निदर्शने । तदेवं निश्चिन्वानमपि राघवं कथमिव नोपद्रवेद्वनोपप्लवः । औषधं हितं मन्वानस्यापि न जातु रसज्ञा न परिदूयते औषधकाटवेन । प्रकृतिरियं मनुजानां मनसि विकल्पयत्यपि बुद्ध्यध्यवसिते वर्त्मनि प्रवर्तनमिति । बुद्ध्या च तारतम्येण द्वयोर्भावयोरध्यवसीयमानयोरपि संवाद-युक्ति-इच्छाद्यनुसारं प्रवृत्तिः । अध्यवसानं च बुद्धेस्तैक्ष्ण्यसंस्काराद्यनुसारं मन्दं त्वरितं त्वरिततरमिति क्रमेण प्रभवति । तत् संस्कृततीक्ष्णतमधिषणो रामो झटिति निश्चिकाय वनवासमिति न तस्मिन् भावसम्मर्द इति नास्त्येव वक्तुरवसरः । निश्चयस्य नियमतः संशयोत्तरभावित्वात् ।

एवं भरतेन समागमे सौभ्रात्रसमुत्थं दाक्षिण्यमेकतः, अन्यतो धर्मरक्षणपरायणतेति दाशरथिर्भावद्वयेन शबलितान्तरः सीदतीव प्रत्युत्त-

रितुं धर्मसंहितानां भरतवचसाम्। इमानि खलु वाक्यानि भरतोदीरितानि, 'प्रोषिते[1] मयि मात्रा मे क्षुद्रया यदाहितमनिष्टं ते तन्मन्तुमिह क्षन्तुमर्हसि। यदस्मि धर्मबन्धेन बद्धस्तन्न हन्मि तां तीक्ष्णेन दण्डेन दण्डार्हाम्' इति। एवमभिदधानं भरतं समाधातुं समालोचयति तरलितान्तरे राघवे, तं राज्यमानिनीषुर्महर्षिर्जाबालिर्भरतपक्षपातित्वेन किमप्याचष्ट। अधर्मप्रवणतया च तद्भणितीनां रामस्य डोलायिता चित्तवृत्तिः क्रोधात्मना पर्यणंसीत्। स चान्तरो वेगः सपरीवाहो महर्षौ निपपात। किमु न रामोऽधिजगाम जाबालेर्भावम्। यमाचष्ट वसिष्ठः। कथमिवच्छेत् स्थूलेऽपि धर्मे वैपरीत्यं महर्षेर्मतिः? तद्भावं जानतोऽपि जानकीजानेः कथं घटते महर्षये क्रोधः। भावे समीचीने प्रतिपादनप्रकारे विप्रतिपन्नेन रामेण सात्त्विकैर्वाग्विसरैरुपदेशमेवार्हति महर्षिः। वसिष्ठोऽपि विशदयामास जाबालेरेव भावं वर्त्मनान्येन। अत्र रघुनन्दनस्य जाबालिगतक्रोधं प्रति प्रागुदीरितभावद्वयशबलतैव निदानमित्यवदातमेव।

भरतेन हि 'आर्य प्रत्युपवेक्ष्यामि' इति विहिते सुदृढे संकल्पे धर्मपरो रघुवरः किं वा विदधीत। एकतो धर्मपालनम् अन्यतो भ्रातृवात्सल्यम्। अत एवाख्यात्यन्यतो भरतगतं वात्सल्यातिरेकम्, 'न सर्वे [2]भ्रातरस्तात भवन्ति भरतोपमाः' इति। एवं भावद्वयमर्द्यमानमानसमालक्ष्य राघवमनुकम्पितान्तरैस्तापसैरादिष्टे भरते पादलग्ने तमारोप्याङ्के भ्रातरमुदैरयद्रघूत्तमः प्रत्याश्वस्त इव 'आगता[3] त्वामियं बुद्धिः स्वजा वैनायिकी च' इति। कथमपि भरतस्य राज्याय निवर्तनमभिकाङ्क्षमाणो हि राघवः अनभिमतमप्यात्मनस्तदीयं जटाचीरादिधारणं न निषेद्धुं प्रजगल्भे। तस्मादेवारण्ये हेमन्तवर्णने 'वनवासे[4] दृढव्रता निश्चितापि मे बुद्धिः पुनरपि भरतस्नेहसंतप्ता बालिशीक्रियते' इति परितपति। तदत्रापि भ्रातृपक्षपातिता, धर्मरक्षणपरायणतेति भावयोः सम्मर्दः प्रकटमेव प्रकाशते।

तथा विभीषणे शरणाय समागते हनूमत्सुग्रीवयोस्तदूरीकरणे भावं बुभुत्सोर्दाशरथेर्भावसम्मर्दस्समुदितो दृश्यत एव। तत् किल सुग्रीवसमीरितानां दोषाणां निलयोऽप्ययं मां मित्रभावेन संप्राप्तः तमहं

1. रामा- अयोध्या-, 106, 8-10.
2, रामा- युद्ध-, 18, 15.
3. रामा- अयोध्या-, 112, 16.
4. रामा- अरण्य-, 69, 38.

कथंचन न त्यजेयमिति आत्मनो बुद्धेरध्यवसायमाविष्करोति । तस्य हि निर्णयस्यायमाकारः 'सकृदेव प्रपन्नाय[1] तवास्मीति च याचते । अभयं सर्वभूतेभ्यो ददाम्येतद् व्रतं मम'।। इति ।

नागपाशनिबन्धनप्रसङ्गे अपगतवेदने सौमित्रौ, रामे च प्रत्यागतचेतने राघवस्य भणितयः तदन्तरुपमृद्रतोर्भावयोः प्रतिबिम्बतामनुविन्दन्ति । वैदेहीविरहानलेन विशोषितकरणस्य सीतासहचरस्य 'किं मे[2] सीतया प्रयोजनम्' इत्यादीनि वचनानि तदात्वसमुत्थसौभ्रात्रपारवश्यमन्तरा किमन्यदावेदयेयुः ? न चैतेन सीताप्रत्याहरणव्यवसाये सुस्थिरो भावस्तस्य न वर्तेत इति व्याख्यातुं पार्यते । इत्थमेव रावणप्रहितशक्त्याहते निपतिते लक्ष्मणे सौमित्रिसहायस्य जानकीजानेर्वचांसि विवृण्वन्त्यन्तश्शबलितांस्तदीयान् भावान् । 'देशे[3] देशे कलत्राणि' इतीदं वचनमेकपत्नीव्रतस्यास्य कथमिव युज्येत । अतः खलु निश्चिनुमहे तत्कालोदितसोदरस्नेहपारवश्यविलसितमिदमिति ।

रावणनिहननाय कृतपरिकरोऽपि श्रान्तं तमुदीक्ष्य निवर्तनाय वितीर्णाभ्यनुज्ञो रघुप्रवीरः अनुकम्पया करम्बितं किल उत्साहम् आत्मनो व्यनक्ति ।

पौलस्त्यधौरेये प्रापिते परेतनिकेतनम् अभिषिक्ते च विभीषणे लङ्कायाम्, रामादिष्टो हनूमान् विजयं राघवेन्द्रस्य, कथान्तं च रावणस्य विज्ञाप्य वैदेह्यै, उत्कूलमानन्दमुदञ्चयामास तस्याः । तादृशप्रियसन्देशनावसरमात्मनो जनिशतसञ्चितसुकृतसमुद्भूतं भावयति स्म मारुतिः । अनन्तरं राघवसन्निधौ प्रियतमदर्शनप्रार्थनां तस्या निवेदयति पवनसूनौ, बाष्पकलुषितः कोसलेन्द्रो धर्मपरो ध्यानमीयिवान् । न वयमत्र विद्मः कुतोऽयं बाष्पोद्गमः । न तादृशं किमपि निभालयामो जानक्याः प्रतिसन्देशे । यत्कृतेऽयमास्त महान् संरम्भः स परमिदानीमवशिष्यते । तत्परितोषावसरेऽस्मिन् कुतोऽयं बाष्पासारः । स्वयं हि गतेन राघवेण जानकी समानेतव्या । राक्षसेन्द्रेण निर्भर्त्सिता भीषिता च या जनकनन्दिनी यस्य कौसल्यानन्दवर्धनस्य प्रत्याशया धारयामास कृच्छ्रगतं जीवितम्, या च पतिदेवता पत्युरसन्देशात्तपसश्चानुपालनाद्भस्मार्हं दशग्रीवं

1. रामा-युद्ध-, 18, 33-34.
2. रामा- युद्ध-, 49, 5.
3. रामा- युद्ध-, 102, 13.

न भस्मितवती, यां दृष्ट्वा नैष्ठिकोऽपि मारुतिः 'दुष्करं कृतवान् रामो हीनो यदनया प्रभुः[1]। धारयत्यात्मनो देहं न शोकेनावसीदति ॥' इति भणति स्म, सा कुतो न सीता सहचरेण स्वयं गत्वा न समाश्वासनार्हा। तदेवं स्थिते प्रेषणमेव पवनात्मजस्य न साम्प्रतम्। नतरां च सांप्रतं प्रतिसन्देशव्याजेन तद्भावविभावनम्। पतिदेवतानां प्रमदानां किमस्ति सौभाग्यादन्यत्परितोषपदम्। भर्तुरात्मगतं प्रेम परिज्ञाय ततः परितुष्टिरपि तासां यदि नाम न युक्ता हन्त समास्सीमन्तिन्यो निपातिता निम्ने निरये। सौभाग्यभङ्गे हि तासां निखिलमप्यवनितलम् अन्धमेवेत। अर्थानुगतं हीदं वाक्यम् 'सापत्न्यं हि नारीणां प्रथमं कोपकारणं' इति। यद्यत्रापि राघवः सीतां परीक्षमाणः, रावणविजयोदितमानन्दं तस्या मन्तुं मन्येत, हन्त तदात्वे विशीर्येत तस्य महत्त्वम्। तस्याः प्रतिसन्देशेऽपि लेशतश्च दोषं गवेषयन्तोऽपि नाध्यक्षयामः। या किलैतावन्तं कालं तन्मनस्का तदालापा तमेव ध्यायति स्म, सा किमन्यद् वृणुयात्। स्वप्राणेभ्योऽपि परप्रेमास्पदस्य कौसल्यासुप्रजसो दर्शनं हि तस्याः परः पुमर्थः।

अपि च अस्नात्वैव पत्युर्दर्शनं काङ्क्षन्तीं शिरस्नातामुपस्थापयेति निरंकुशं विभीषणमाज्ञप्तवतोऽस्य हृदयम् आलोच्यमानमप्यस्माकम् आश्चर्यमेकतः, अन्यतो भीतिं चादधाति। राघवाश्रितेन भावेन वत्सरमेकं परितपन्तीं यामेतां वल्मीकजन्मा सर्गेणैकेनोपमिमानोऽपि न पर्यतुष्यत् तस्याः सीतायाः तथापरिकर्शितमात्मनं प्रेयसे प्रतिपादियितुं कुत इव न भवेदभिलाषः। गाम्भीर्येण समुद्रः, धैर्येण हिमवान् अमानुषप्रकृतिः राघवेन्द्रोऽपि 'त्वदर्थे[2] निर्मितस्सेतुः, तवार्थेऽयमत्तीर्ण उदन्वान्' इति सीतामाचक्षाणोऽसह्यं सोढमावेदयति तद्विरहं वैदेह्यै। तदनुशयेन चात्मनं कृतकृत्यं मन्वानः संभावयति। यदीदृशी परिस्थितिस्तस्यापि, तत्कथं नु पार्येत परिक्षेप्तुं स भावोऽबलायास्तदेकजीवितायास्सीतायाः? तत्सीतां स्नातामानेतुमाज्ञापयतः को नु भवेदन्तरन्तर्हितो भावः?

रक्षोगृहचिरोषितां तामुपमुपस्थितामाकलय्य 'राघवं[3] हर्षो दैन्यं च रोषश्च त्रयमाविवेशे'ति रामस्य भावसम्मर्दमाख्यात्यत्र कविः। अनन्तरमवनिदुहितुर्दाशरथिसन्निधानसंपादनाय रावणानुजेन उत्सार्यमाणेषु

1. रामा- युद्ध-, 15, 53.
2. रामा- युद्ध-, 126, 12.
3. रामा- युद्ध-, 117-16.

वानरेषु, दाक्षिण्यनियमितममर्षपोषितं च विभीषणं प्रति रामस्योदीरितं विदारयत्येव भावुकानामान्तरम् । ततश्चोपलभते 'न[1] गृहाणि न वस्त्राणि न प्राकारास्तिरस्क्रियाः । नेदृशा राजसत्कारा वृत्तमावरणं स्त्रियाः ॥' इति परुषोक्तिभिः ; जानक्याः किल पातिव्रत्यमाहात्म्याद्यापि भारतं यौवतमुच्चैः शिरो धरति । तामसूर्यम्पश्यावस्थोचितामदुःखार्हां न जात्वेवं कटुभिर्वाक्यैः कदर्थयितुमर्हति राघवः । वृत्तेन परिवीतापि भित्तिभिरिव वानरततिभिः परिवृतं तं न जातु एतुं सा शक्नुयात् । अशोकवनिकायां मारुतिस्पर्शपरिहरणप्रसङ्गेन सीतामभिनन्दितवतो दशरथनन्दनस्य नेदानीमीदृश्यो भणितयो युक्ताः । मारुत्युदीरितमात्मनो विरहोदितं वैदेहीगतं क्लेशभारमुपश्रित्य हि परिगतखेदः सज्जयामास सैन्यनिवहमयमिति विदितमेव विश्वेषाम् । तत्कथमिव श्रद्दधीरन्नस्य वचसि, 'सफलोऽद्य[2] परिश्रमः सुग्रीवस्य विभीषणस्य च । आत्मनापि तीर्णो निकारार्णवः । न भवत्याः कृतेऽयं सांग्रामिकसन्नाहः' इति । अश्रद्दधानापि जानकी किमादध्यात्तपस्विनी स्वातन्त्र्यगर्विते भर्तरि परुषं भाषमाणे । 'रामस्य[3] पराक्रमः कान्तागत एव सर्वतोमुखः' इति ब्रुवन् कश्चित् कविर्यथार्थवादीवालक्ष्यते ।

आस्तां वैतत् । 'नास्ति[4] मे त्वय्यभिष्वङ्गो यथेष्टं गम्यतामितः', 'लक्ष्मणे भरते वा त्वं कुरु बुद्धिं यथासुखम् । सुग्रीवे वानरेन्द्रे वा राक्षसेन्द्रे विभीषणे ॥ निवेशय मनः सीते यथा वा सुखमात्मनः ॥' इति निरातङ्कं निरनुक्रोशं निस्त्रपं च राघवेणेरितं तटस्थैरपि दुश्श्रवम्, हन्त कथमिव शुश्राव कुसुमादपि कोमलान्तरा वसुन्धरात्मजा । 'वीर[5], प्राकृतः प्राकृतामिव किं मामेवं रूक्षं श्रावयसे । यदैव प्रेषितो हनुमानवलोककः, तदैव लङ्कागता कुतो न विसर्जिता । इयदनालोचयता क्रोधमेवानुसरता भवता लघुनेव मनुष्येण स्त्रीत्वं किल पुरस्कृतम्' इत्यादिवैदेहीवचनानि, न खलूत्तरितुं शशाक रामः । ततश्चाकारसूचितेन सौमित्रिणा सुविहितां चितां प्रविशन्तीमपि न न्यषेधत् ।

1. रामा- युद्ध-, 117, 26.
2. रामा- युद्ध-, 118, 8.
3. कुन्दमाला, 6 अङ्क.
4. रामा- युद्ध-, 118-21, 22, 23,
5. रामा- युद्ध-, 119, 5.

तदेषामखिलानां मूलहेतोः परिमार्गणे राघवान्तरनिरूढाद्भावसम्मर्दादन्यन्न कोऽप्यत्र निदानतामनुविन्दति । पक्षिणो मृगान् वृक्षांश्च सीतागतं पृच्छन् परितप्तवान् राघवो न जातु हार्देन भावेनैवं भाषेत । रामस्य हि राज्यभ्रंशाच्च वैदेहीविरहो विशेषतस्तापायैधते स्म । अतो नु एकाकिनीं सीतामुटजे परित्यक्तवन्तं सौमित्रिम् अनाकर्ण्य तदुक्तीरयुक्तकारिणमकल्पयत् । रसिकशेखरस्य गुणज्ञस्यार्द्रान्तरस्य तस्याप्यास्तैवौत्सुक्यं स्वार्थे तप्यमानायास्तामवस्थां प्रेक्षितुम् । अथाप्यखिलानिमान्भावानन्तस्तिरोधाय लोकापवादात् त्रस्यन्नेवैवमवोचत् । लोकवादमवजानन् यदि धरात्मजामूरीकुर्यादयं तदा आनालोच्य तस्यास्सतत्वं वचनीयोन्मुख एव जायेत जनः । आत्मना च कल्पेत कामचारः । न हि रामो जनकनन्दिन्या भावस्यापि परिशुद्धिं न बुबोध । ततः किलेदं व्याहरति "[1]अवश्यं त्रिषु लोकेषु न सीता पापमर्हति । दीर्घकालोषिता हीयं रावणान्तःपुरे शुभा ॥ बालिशः खलु कामात्मा रामो दशरथात्मजः । इति वक्ष्यन्ति मां सन्तः' इत्यादि । यद्ययमीदृशानि परुषाणि नोद्गिरेत् कथं नु सा स्वयं हव्यवाहमाविशेत् । रघुप्रवेको हि प्राणेभ्योऽपि प्रेयसीं परिशुद्धां जानन्नपि परार्थे तां हुतवहमाविष्टुमादेष्टुमपारयन् परुषैर्वचोभिः प्रावर्तयत् । तदत्र लोकवादादातङ्कः, सीतासमागमे हर्षः, तस्याः वह्निप्रवेशने मानसिकस्तापः, आन्तरस्य भावस्य विशदमभिधाने दाक्षिण्यपक्षपातितेति बहूनामत्र भावानां सम्मर्दः स्फुटमेधते ।

अन्ततश्च कठोरगर्भगुर्वीं जानकीं विजने वने विवासयितुम् आदिशतो दाशरथेर्मनसि भावावमर्दो विस्पष्ट एव । यदभिधत्ते 'अन्तरात्मा[2] च मे वेत्ति सीतां शुद्धां यशस्विनीम् । अत एव तामयोध्यामानयम् । किन्त्वयं महान्मे लोकवादः हृदये शोकम् उत्कूलयति । अप्यहं जीवितं जह्यामनुजान्वा नरर्षभान् । अपवादभयाद्भीतः किं पुनर्जनकात्मजाम् ॥' इति । स्थलान्तरे च [3]'उत्पत्तिपरिपूतायाः किमन्यैः पावनान्तरैः । तीर्थोदकं च वह्निश्च नान्यतः शुद्धिमर्हतः ॥' 'त्वया[4] जगन्ति पुण्यानि त्वय्यपुण्या जनोक्तयः । नाथवन्तस्त्वया लोकास्त्वमनाथा विपत्स्यसे ॥' [5]'जनकानां

1. रामा- युद्ध-, 121, 13, 14.
2. रामा- उत्तर , 4, 5, 10, 14.
3. उत्तररामचरित, 1, 13.
4. उत्तररामचरित, 1, 43.
5. उत्तररामचरित, 1, 53.

रघूणां च यत्कृत्स्नं गोत्रमङ्गलम्' इत्यादि । इतरत्र च [1]"किमात्मनिर्वाद-कथामुपेक्षे जायामदोषामुत सन्त्यजानि । इत्येकपक्षाश्रयविक्लवत्वादासीत्स दोलाचलचित्तवृत्तिः ॥" "निश्चित्य चानन्यनिवृत्ति वाच्यं त्यागेन पत्न्याः परिमार्ष्टुमैच्छत् । अपि स्वदेहात्किमुतेन्द्रियार्थाद्यशोधनानां हि यशो गरीयः ॥" इति ॥ अपरत्र च [2]"ऋषीणां लोकपालनामार्यस्य मम चाग्रतः । अग्नौ शुद्धिं गता देवी किन्तु लोको निरंकुशः ॥' तदेवं रामो विश्ववचनीयपरिजिहीर्षयैव देवीं धरासुतां तत्याज । यद्विषयमिदं स्थलान्तरगतं प्राचेतसस्सान्तस्तापं वाक्यम् 'अस्त्येव[3] मन्युर्भरताग्रजे मे' इति विलोक्यते । 'शुद्धायाः[4] पतिव्रताया दीनाया मे परित्यागः किमु राघवस्य श्रुतस्य कुलस्य वा सदृशम्' इति सीतापि सन्तप्तान्तरा वक्ति । अन्यत्र च भगवान्वाल्मीकिर्दाशरथिमुद्दिश्य 'हे[5] राजन्, धृतसौहार्द, महाकुलीन, समीक्ष्यकारिन्, किं युक्तं प्रतिपादितां जनकेन, गृहीतां दशरथेन, कृतमङ्गलामरुन्धत्या, विशुद्धचारित्रां वाल्मीकिना, भावितशुद्धिं विभावसुना, मातरं कुशलवयोः, दुहितरं विश्वंभरायाः देवीं सीतां जनापवादमात्रश्रवणेन परित्यक्तुम् ।' इति सोद्वेगं साभिप्रायं च पृच्छति ।

एवं सीतापक्षपातेन महत्स्वपि व्याहरत्सु कथमनार्द्रान्तर इव रामः सौनिको गृहशकुन्तिकामिव सीतां छद्मना मृत्यवे परिदद्यात् ? कथमिवास्यान्तरात्मा सम्मन्येत ? न कदापि । प्ररोहमिममयशसः कुलान्तकरं परिमार्ष्टुम्, प्रकृतीश्च धर्म्ये पथि प्रत्यवस्थापयितुं वंशप्रतिष्ठामपि विदेहतनयामत्याक्षीत् कोसलेन्द्रः । यद्वाक्यमसकृदसावावर्तयामास 'यदि[6] वा जानकीमपि, आराधनाय लोकस्य मुञ्चतो नास्ति मे व्यथा' इति तत् सत्यापयामासेदानीम् । किन्तु 'देशे देशे कलत्राणि' इति भणितिं नाभिनीय दर्शयामासेति मोमुदीति नो मानसम् ।

वैदेहीविवासनेन निखिलानां चेतसि निम्नं खेदमादधानोऽपि हयमेधे हाटकप्रतिकृतिं प्रकल्पयन् सर्वथा सीतायाः परेषां च परितापं चेतसः प्रमाष्ट्र्यैव । ततः किलेदमर्थवत् प्रथते [7]"हृदयं त्वेव जानाति

1. रघुवंश, 14, 33-34.
2. कुन्दमाला, 1, 13.
3. रघुवंश, 14, 73.
4. रघुवंश, 14, 61.
5. कुन्दमाला, 6 अङ्क.
6. उत्तररामचरित, 1, 12.
7. उत्तररामचरित, 6, 32.

प्रीतियोगं परस्परम् ॥' इति ॥ अपवादमपमार्ष्टुं त्यक्तुमिच्छन्नपि वसुमतीसुतां दोहदच्छद्मना नाययामास लक्ष्मणेन तदग्रजः । वर्त्मन्यप्यविज्ञाततत्त्वेयं देवरं किमपि किमपि परिपृच्छन्ती, भर्तृगतां चातिप्रेमसुलभां शङ्कामसकृदात्मन्यंकुरयन्ती मनांसि समेषां नः करुणाम्बुधौ निमज्जयत्येव । अथाप्यवशः प्रकृतिभिः किमादधातु दाशरथिः ? स्वोत्सङ्गमास्थाय विस्रब्धमुपलब्धनिद्रां प्रतिबोध्य विवासितासि कान्ते, कान्तारायेति ईरितुं कथं नु प्रगल्भेत सः ? राम एव हि प्रबभूव कनीयसापि तदावेदयितुं न त्वन्यः । अत एवान्यत्र विदीर्णान्तर इव उद्गिरति गिरम् [1]'अपूर्वकर्मचण्डालमयि मुग्धे विमुञ्च माम् । श्रितासि चन्दनभ्रान्त्या दुर्विपाकं विषद्रुमम् ।' इति ॥

निदर्शनैरेभिः अपरित्यागोचितभावस्य सत्त्वेऽपि परीवादपराकरणपरेण भावेन तां नोदयामास वनायेति विशदमालक्ष्यते । तदयं हि भावसम्मर्दः । अन्तरामर्दमाचरतोरपि भावयोर्यस्तु विश्वेषां विहिते वर्त्मनि निष्ठां व्यवस्थापयेत्, यत्र च स्वसुखनिरभिलाषः सविशेषमालक्ष्येत, स एव प्रायशो जयति रामगत इति प्रागेवास्माभिः प्रत्यपादि । तस्मादेव राज्यं पितरम् अन्ततो जानकीं च परित्यजन् त्यागिनामग्रे जयति स्म राघवः । वंशप्रतिष्ठामवगच्छन्नप्यवनिसुतां विहस्तितवाँल्लोकाराधनाय राम इति न वाचां गोचरमेधतेऽस्य त्यागवैभवम् । समेष्वनभिषक्तैरपि न वंशप्रतिष्ठा परित्यक्तेति राज्यत्यागादपि सर्वोत्तरत्वेन विजयते रामभद्रस्यायं त्यागः । अत एव स्थलान्तरे परित्यागेऽस्मिन् सोदराणां पारिपन्थ्यमुत्पश्यन् [2]'तदेष सर्गः करुणार्द्रचित्तैर्न मे भवद्भिः प्रतिषेधनीयः' इति दीन इव नाथति । यस्या देव्याः परित्यागात्पशुप्रायाणामपि परितपति हृदयं तां परिहर्तुमुद्यतस्य हि रामस्य परमोत्तमस्त्यागो व्यज्यते ॥ तदास्तामेतत् । अत्रापि त्यागे भावसम्मर्दः स्फुटं जागर्तीति न्यदर्शयाम वयम् । रीत्यानया राघवगतो रामायणे बहुत्र बहुधैधमानोऽपि भावसम्मर्दः समयानुसारमस्माभिः क्वचिदेव विवृतः ॥

प्राचेतसो भगवान् काव्ये स्वीये करुणं रसं भावापेक्षयापि भावसम्मर्देनैव विशेषतः पुष्णाति । भावशान्ति-भावोदय-भावसन्धि-

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1. उत्तररामचरित, 1, 46. 2. रघुवंश, 14, 42.

भावशबलतानां रससन्धुक्षणे भावेभ्योऽविशेषेऽपि विच्छित्तिविशेषमाकलयन्ति ह्यालङ्कारिकाः। सोऽयमत्र सम्मर्द एव भावानां रससंवर्धनांशे प्रभूततरं भागम् अनुविन्दति । उपस्थिते अभिषेके अरण्यं राघवं प्रस्थापयतो वल्मीकजन्मनोऽयमेव विलोक्यते भावः । यत् 'एकैव[1] सत्यामपि पुत्रपङ्क्तौ चिरस्य दृष्टेव मृतोत्थितेव । आसन्नपाणिग्रहणेति पित्रोरुमा विशेषोच्छ्वसितं बभूव ॥' इति नयेनासन्नाभिषेक इति रामैकजीवितमास्त निखिलं जगत् । तस्मिन्नरण्याय सज्जिते समेषामपि समधिकश्शोकः समुदीर्णः । अतो हि तदीयं रथमप्यनुबध्नन्ति स्म विह्वलान्तराः । तदीक्षणेन रामस्यापि स्नेहपारवश्यात् प्रबुद्धः शोकभारः । तथा, यत्प्रणीतमाचरमामनन्ति साधवः तेष्वपि संयमीन्द्रेषु रामं राज्योरीकरणाय प्रार्थयमाणेषु यावद्यावद्धर्म्ये वर्त्मनि पक्षपातं कक्षीचकार रामस्सुदृढेन भावेन, तावत्तावदभिवर्धते स्म तेषां शोकप्राग्भारः । तज्जनितो रामस्यापि । एवं परस्परकारणीभूतानां व्यक्तिभेदभिन्नानां सजातीयानां भावानामपि सम्मर्देन कल्लोलयति करुणं कविः । आत्मनस्सुदृढेन संकल्पेन परितप्यमानान् अनुस्मृत्य खिद्यमानस्य राघवस्य दुःसहं हि हार्दं शल्यम् । तद्विशिनष्टि भवभूतिः [2]'अनिर्भिन्नो गभीरत्वादन्तर्गूढघनव्यथः । पुटपाकप्रतीकाशो रामस्य करुणो रसः' इति ॥

यस्तु करुणः श्रोतृजनसंविभाज्यो जायते स न तावन्तं क्षोभमान्तरमादध्यात् यावन्तम् असंविभाज्यः । अतो हि वयं भवभूतिविवृतभावानुसारं रावणहरणात्सीताया विरहवैक्लव्यं दाशरथेरधिकं न कलयामः । यस्मात्तद्वाचा विवृतं सदुपशान्तिमृच्छति । राज्यभ्रंशः पितृवियोगः सीतापरित्यागश्च ततो नु रामायणे करुणस्य निधानायन्ते । तत्र च निदानं भावसम्मर्द एवेति व्याख्यातमद्य ॥

करुणवेदी भगवान् वाल्मीकिः क्रौञ्चद्वन्द्ववियोगजनितकरुणेन प्लावितान्तरः करुणैकतानं काव्यं भावसम्मर्दविचित्रितं ततान । तं च भावसम्मर्दं दाशरथौ प्रकटयन् कविः, केवलमानुषनेतृतां तस्मिन् विशदयति । तेन चाधुनिकानां प्रागुदीरितानां हृदयसंवादभाजां रसचर्वणसरणिरप्यविच्छिन्नैव विलसति रामायणे इति सिद्धम् ॥

॥ इति शम् ॥

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1. कुमारसम्भव, 7, 4. 2. उत्तररामचरित, 3, 1.

THE YOGAVĀSIṢṬHA AND THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ.

DR. V. RAGHAVAN, M.A.

In my previous article of the above caption published in the last issue of this journal, I noticed 92 parallels between the Yogavāsiṣṭha and the Gītā. Here I notice some more:

1. Yogavāsiṣṭha I. 12. 15. किं मे राज्येन किं भोगैः says Rāma. Bhagavad Gītā I. 32: किं नो राज्येन गोविन्द किं भोगैः says Arjuna.

2. Yogavāsiṣṭha IV. 36. 3. यथा सर्वगतः सौक्ष्म्याद् आकाशो नोपलक्ष्यते ।

Bha. G. XIII. 32. ,, तं ,, शम् । नोपलिप्यते (Laghu Y. V. IV, 4.8).

3. Yogavāsiṣṭha V. 18. 6. reads सर्वशत्रुषु मध्यस्थो दयादाक्षिण्यसंयुतः. But the same line reads in the Laghu Y. V.—**समः शत्रौ च मित्रे च** दयादाक्षिण्यसंयुतः *1. The first Pāda as available in the Laghu Yogavāsiṣṭha is Gītā XII, 18a.

4. Yogavāsiṣṭha V. 35. 4: कुर्वन्नपि न लिप्यते (Laghu Yogavāsiṣṭha V, 4. 80).
Bhagavad Gītā. V. 7d. Do.

5. Yogavāsiṣṭha V. 38. 15 is printed नेह श्रेयो न पश्यामि which is evidently a mistake. The Laghu Yogavāsiṣṭha reads correctly नेह श्रेयोऽनुपश्यामि (V, 4. 101). This is Gītā I, 31c.

6. Yogavāsiṣṭha V. 55. 6. कूर्मोऽङ्गानीव दृश्यानि लीयन्ते स्वात्मनात्मनि (Laghu Y. V., V, 6.146) reminds us of Gītā II, 58.

7. Yogavāsiṣṭha V, 55. 14. मात्रास्पर्शान् (Laghu Yogavāsiṣṭha V, 6. 154) is an expression taken from Gītā II, 14.

8. Yogavāsiṣṭha V, 56,43 (Laghu Y. V. V, 7. 26) यस्त्वात्मरतिरेवान्तः corresponds to Gītā III, 17a. यस्त्वात्मरतिरेव स्यात् ।

*1. On textual divergences between the Yogavāsiṣṭha and Abhinanda's epitome of it, *see* Mr. P. C. Divanji, *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. III, April, 1938.

9. The Gītā ideal of Anāsakti and Phalatyāga are thus expressed in Yogavāsiṣṭha 68. 6-8 (Laghu V, 9. 10, 11):

सुसमो यः फलत्यागी ।

सर्वकर्मफलादीनां मनसैव न कर्मणा ।

निपुणं यः परित्यागी सोऽसंसक्त इति स्मृतः ॥

(Laghu Yogavāsiṣṭha V. 9. 10. 11)

10. Yogavāsiṣṭha V. 75. 48: समलोष्टाश्मकाञ्चनः
Bhagavad Gītā VI. 8d } Do.
XIV. 24b }

11. Yogavāsiṣṭha V. 77. 12: उदासीनवदासीनः
Bhagavad Gītā XIV. 23a Do.

12. Yogavāsiṣṭha V. 89. 17. आत्मन्येव हि सन्तुष्टो न करोति न चेहते ।
Bhagavad Gītā III. 17. ,, ,, तस्य कार्यं न विद्यते ।

13. Yogavāsiṣṭha V. 89. 13. आत्मनात्मनि सन्तृप्तः can be compared with Gītā III. 17. आत्मतृप्तश्च मानवः ।

14. Yogavāsiṣṭha V. 89. 22. नैव तस्य कृतेनार्थः etc. is a wholesale reproduction of Gītā III. 18. (See my previous article. p. 81, Yogavāsiṣṭha VIb. 102. 37, 109. 4.)

15. In Yogavāsiṣṭha V. 90. 12 (Laghu Y. V. 10. 21), there is a description of the 'Dhīra' which can be compared with Gītā II. 15: यं हि न व्यथयन्त्येते etc.

16. Yogavāsiṣṭha V. 92. 46. आगमापायिनोऽनित्याः
Bhagavad Gītā II. 14c. Do.
(See my previous article, p. 77, Yogavāsiṣṭha IV. 59. 7.)

17. Yogavāsiṣṭha V. 93. 74:

कायेन मनसा बुद्ध्या केवलैरिन्द्रियैरपि ।

कर्म कुर्वन्नकुर्वन्वा निस्सङ्गस्सन्न लिप्यते ॥

is Gītā V. 11, with second line recast.

18. Yogavāsiṣṭha VIa. 69. 21:

एकं सांख्यं च योगं च यः पश्यति स पश्यति ।

यत्सांख्यैः प्राप्यते स्थानं परं योगैस्तदेव हि ॥

Of this verse, the second line alone has been retained in the Laghu Yogavāsiṣṭha (VI. 7. 16). This is Gītā, V. 5, with the differences that the line-order has been changed and instead of

तद्योगैरपि गम्यते of the vulgate and the तद्योगैरनुगम्यते of the Kasmir text, we have परं योगैस्तदेव हि. This "परं योगैस्तदेव हि" is not found among the readings listed by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar at the end of his article on the so-called Kasmirian Recension of the Gītā in the *New Indian Antiquary*, II. 4. Is it a change introduced by the author of the Yogavāsiṣṭha?

19. Yogavāsiṣṭha VIa. 74. 28-30:

असक्तिरनभिष्वङ्गः पुत्रदारगृहादिषु ।
नित्यं च समचित्तत्वमिष्टानिष्टोपपत्तिषु ॥
आत्मनोऽनन्ययोगेन तद्भावनमनारतम् ।
विविक्तदेशसेवित्वमरतिर्जनसंसदि ॥
अध्यात्मज्ञाननित्यत्वं तत्त्वज्ञानार्थदर्शनम् ।
एतज्ज्ञानमिति प्रोक्तमज्ञानं तदतोऽन्यथा ॥

This is Gītā, XIII, 9-11, but since, as it has been noticed in my previous article, the Yogavāsiṣṭha would substitute 'Ātman' wherever the Gītā referred to a personal God, मयि च भक्तिरव्यभिचारिणी of the Gītā becomes आत्मनः तद्भावनमनारतम्, with the word 'अनन्ययोगेन' retained. Besides this, there is the change of यदतोऽन्यथा into तदतोऽन्यथा in the Yogavāsiṣṭha. Thirdly, it is only in the vulgate that we read अध्यात्मज्ञाननित्यत्वम् and the Yogavāsiṣṭha gives this reading. But the Laghu Yogavāsiṣṭha has here (VI. 8. 24) अध्यात्मज्ञाननिष्ठत्वम् which is a Kasmiri reading.

20. Yogavāsiṣṭha VIa. 87. From śl. 16 here, the text emphasises the superiority of jñāna over kriyā ज्ञानं हि परमं श्रेयः (śl. 16) and ज्ञानमेव परं श्रेयः. The whole section can be compared with Gītā II. 49 दूरेण ह्यवरं कर्म etc. and Gītā IV. 33. The section comes to a close in the Yogavāsiṣṭha with the following verse (śl. 33).

साधूनां समदृष्टीनां परिप्रश्नेन सेवया ।
सङ्गमेन च सा युक्तिर्लभ्यते मुच्यते यया ॥

which is after Gītā IV. 34:

तद्विद्धि प्रणिपातेन परिप्रश्नेन सेवया ।
उपदेक्ष्यन्ति ते ज्ञानं ज्ञानिनस्तत्त्वदर्शिनः ।

Concepts of Riti and Guna in Sanskrit Poetics in their Historical Development—By P. C. Lahiri, M.A., Ph.D., Dacca University, Bulletin No. XVIII.

In the domain of rhetoric and literary criticism Sanskrit Ālaṅkārikas have attained a high degree of excellence. There has been a long history of continuous development of theories and conceptions on this branch of learning from the age of Bharata to the days of Jagannātha. In the brilliant enunciation of principles and standards of taste and in the investigation of the psychology of the effects of poetic expression and of the elements of poetic beauty and art Sanskrit rhetoricians are not inferior to any others of their class in the great literatures of the world. But, until recently this branch of oriental learning was not opened up for study and research by modern scholars. Hence any well thought out work on any one of the different aspects of this subject will be welcome to the scholar. Much useful work has been already done by eminent scholars like Dr. S. K. De, Mr. P. V. Kane, Dr. A. Sankaran and Dr. J. Nobel. To trace the development of the concept of Rīti and Guṇa is indeed a fascinating pursuit and Prof. Lahiri has brought to bear on his thesis a careful and laborious scholarship. While the ideas denoted by the word "Guṇa" may be conveyed to the reader by what we call in English 'poetic merit' the word "Rīti" is more difficult to translate. It does not exactly correspond to what is called in English literature, style. All the ideas conveyed by the word may be suggested by the compendious expressesion the method and content of poetic expression. Sanskrit rhetoricians have analysed the elements of poetic art into those of Rīti, Guṇa, Alaṅkāra, Rasa and Dhvani and the great writers from Bharata to Jagannātha have carefully investigated the underlying conceptions of these elements. In the emphasis laid by the different writers they have differed. While Vāmana attached the greatest importance to Rīti, Ānandavardhana and Abhinava Gupta established with great wealth of learning and subtlety of logic,

that Dhvani was the soul of poetry. In tracing the development of the concept of Rīti and Guṇa it will be a sounder and truer method to bear in mind that it is only in the degree of the emphasis laid upon the different elements of the poetic art that the great Sanskrit rhetoricians have differed and not in the enunciation of the elements themselves. It is well that every modern scholar tracing the history of the ideas on this subject keeps in mind this fundamental aspect of the matter. Fortunately in Sanskrit literature the development of literary criticism has taken place only sometime after some of the greatest Kāvyas and literary works came into existence. By the time these ideas were carefully analysed all the elements of the poetic art have come to be appreciated by the intelligent and sympathetic readers of poetry. What remained to be done was only an accurate and scientific analysis and explanation of the ideas and the development of sound theories and standards of taste. These were successfully achieved by the Sanskrit rhetoricians.

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